TURKS, TATARS AND RUSSIANS IN THE 13TH–16TH CENTURIES

István Vásáry

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CONTENTS

Preface		ix
Acknowledgements		x
I	The role of the Turkic peoples in the ethnic history of Eastern Europe *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Case Studies in Their Intrinsic Tension and Political Dynamics, ed. Peter Krüger. Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1993*	27–34
II	Origins and possible Cuman affiliations of the Asen dynasty *Archivum Ottomanicum 13. Wiesbaden, 1994*	335–345
III	Cuman warriors in the fight of Byzantium with the Latins *Acta Orientalia Hungarica 57. Budapest, 2004*	263–270
IV	The Hungarians or Možars and the Meščers/Mižers of the Middle Volga region *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 1. Wiesbaden, 1975 and PdR Press Publications in Early Hungarian History 3. Lisse, 1976*	3–42
V	The Golden Horde term *daruġa* and its survival in Russia *Acta Orientalia Hungarica 30. Budapest, 1976*	187–197
VI	The institution of foster-brothers (*emildäš* and *kökäldäš*) in the Chingisid states *Acta Orientalia Hungarica 36. Budapest, 1982*	549–562
VII	The origin of the institution of *basqaq*s *Acta Orientalia Hungarica 32. Budapest, 1978*	201–206

VIII	*Susun* and *süsün* in Middle Turkic texts *Acta Orientalia Hungarica 31. Budapest, 1977*	51–59
IX	Notes on the term *tartanaq* in the Golden Horde *Translated from* Zametki o tartanaq v Zolotoi Orde, *Sovetskaia Tiurkologiia 4. Baku, 1987, pp. 97–103*	1–9
X	Bemerkungen zum uigurischen Schrifttum in der Goldenen Horde und bei den Timuriden *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher 7. Wiesbaden, 1987*	115–126
XI	Mongolian impact on the terminology of the documents of the Golden Horde *Acta Orientalia Hungarica 48. Budapest, 1995*	479–485
XII	Immunity charters of the Golden Horde granted to the Italian towns Caffa and Tana *Translated from Zhalovannye gramoty* Dzhuchieva Ulusa, dannye ital'ianskim gorodam Kafa i Tana, *Istochnikovedenie istorii Ulusa Dzhuchi (Zolotoi Ordy) ot Kalki do Astrakhani 1223–1556. Kazan, 2002, pp. 193–206*	1–13
XIII	Oriental languages of the *Codex Cumanicus*: Persian and Cuman as *linguae francae* in the Black Sea region (13th–14th centuries) *Il codice cumanico e il suo mondo, eds F. Schmieder and P. Schreiner. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2005*	105–124
XIV	A contract of the Crimean Khan Mängli Giräy and the inhabitants of Qïrq-yer from 1478/79 *Central Asiatic Journal 26. Wiesbaden, 1982*	289–301
XV	Two Kazan Tatar edicts (Ibrahim's and Sahib Girey's yarliks) (with Shamil Muhamedyarov) *Between the Danube and the Caucasus: A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe, ed. G. Kara. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987*	181–216
XVI	Orthodox Christian Qumans and Tatars of the Crimea in the 13th–14th centuries *Central Asiatic Journal 32. Wiesbaden, 1988*	260–271

XVII "History and legend" in Berke Khan's conversion to Islam 230–252
Aspects of Altaic Civilization III, ed. D. Sinor. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990

XVIII Andrzej Taranowskis Bericht über seine Gesandtschaftsreise in der Tartarei (1569) (with L. Tardy) 213–252
Acta Orientalia Hungarica 28. Budapest, 1974

XIX Russian and Tatar genealogical sources on the origin of the Iusupov family 732–746
Harvard Ukrainian Studies 19. Cambridge, MA, 1995

XX Clans of Tatar descent in the Muscovite elite of the 14th–16th centuries 101–113
The Place of Russia in Eurasia, ed. G. Szvák. Budapest: Magyar Ruszisztikai Intézet, 2001

XXI Muscovite diplomacy with the states of the Orient 28–32
New Directions and Results in Russistics, ed. G. Szvák. Budapest: Magyar Ruszisztikai Intézet, 2005

Index 1–14

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Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

PREFACE

The West-Eurasian steppe region extends from present-day Kazakhstan through southern Russia, Ukraine and Moldavia to the Carpathian Basin. This vast territory has been the homeland of various nomadic peoples, mainly of Turkic and Mongolian stock, whose tribal confederacies often evolved into large empires impinging on the surrounding sedentary states. The largest empire in world history, founded by Chingis Khan, was that of the Mongols. Its western part, extending from the Aral Sea to the Lower Danube, later became known as the Golden Horde. The Mongol conquerors soon became absorbed by the local Turkic (mainly Cuman or Kipchak) population. The Golden Horde and its successor states, such as the Kazan and Crimean Khanates, whose Turco-Mongol overlords are often referred to as Tatars, played a decisive role in the history of Western Central Asia and Eastern Europe in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries. They had a fundamental influence on the nascence and fate of the Russian state which for centuries was subjected and payed tribute to the Tatars of the Golden Horde and its successors.

The articles contained in this volume entitled *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries* were selected from the production of thirty years' study in Tatar and Russian history. They deal with different aspects of the medieval Tatar and Russian worlds, always with a keen eye on their mutual contacts.

Seventeen out of the total twenty-one articles published here were written in English, and two in German. They are left untouched in their original form, with only the correction of some evident typographical errors and a few additional remarks and bibliographical supplements. Two articles originally written and published in Russian (IX and XII) have been slightly supplemented, updated, translated and published in English here for the first time.

Finally, I would like to pay tribute to the memory of my dear colleagues and friends, Shamil Mukhamedyarov and Lajos Tardy, co-authors of articles XV and XVIII.

ISTVÁN VÁSÁRY

Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest
May 2007

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I

The Role of the Turkic Peoples in the Ethnic History of Eastern Europe

Ethnicity and nationalism are two separate notions. Ethnicity comprises the ethnic components of a people brought about in the course of a long historical process. It always reflects real ethnic processes and the interrelations of different ethnic components. Nationalism, on the other hand, is basically an ideology, which does not necessarily reflect those ethnic processes and moreover is often totally contradictory to the facts of ethnic history and events. Suffice it to mention two examples taken at random from two different regions of the world. The alleged Dako-Roman-Romanian continuity is as much an organic part of modern Romanian nationalism as the Assyrian-Iraqi Arab continuity is an indispensable component of modern Iraqi Arab nationalism. Neither of these theories has much to do with the real ethnic history of the Romanian or Iraqi Arab nations, but they are effective tools in the hands of modern Romanian and Iraqi policy-makers respectively.

In this essay, I will speak mainly of the first phenomenon, ethnicity, then I will touch on the problem of modern nationalisms, drawing on the ethnic history of Turkic peoples. In modern Eastern Europe, it is only Turkish nationalism that obviously leans on Turkish history and ethnicity. The facts of Ottoman conquest and rule of the Balkanic lands in the 14th to 19th centuries are too well known to overshadow the fact that the role of different Turkic peoples was very instrumental in forming the ethnic picture of pre-Ottoman Eastern Europe. Though almost none of these Turkic peoples survived as separate ethnic entities, they have become parts of different medieval nationalities and later modern nations.

The territory I am concerned with comprises three distinct historical regions, which can be designated as Eastern Europe – as opposed to Western Europe – only in a simplifying manner. Eastern Europe proper can be identified as the European part of the Soviet Union minus the Baltic region. Eastern Central Europe is the modern Baltic region, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia; while South Eastern Europe is more or less identical with the Balkan region. In the formation of the present-day ethnic picture of all three regions, Turkic peoples played an important role.

The common feature of these three regions is that they joined European historical development much later than the Western half of Europe. After a long preparatory period, feudal Europe was born in the fifth century on the ruins of the Western Roman Empire by merging the heritage of classical antiquity, the victorious Christian world-view, and the German tribal tradition. The eastern half of what was to become Europe was open to new nomadic waves from the east, and the turbulent Slavic migrations also constantly formed the ethnic picture of the region. One may say that the time of the migration of the peoples (the famous German

Völkerwanderungszeit) was accomplished in Western Europe by the middle or end of the fifth century, while in Eastern Europe it was a prolonged period reaching to the ninth and tenth centuries. Consequently, the ethnic consolidation of the eastern half of Europe and the formation of solid states took place only by the end of the first millennium. This historical belatedness of Eastern Europe runs like a red thread through its history, although the connection of the three areas to Western Europe was quite different. The Balkan lands and Russia joined Byzantine Christianity, while Eastern Central Europe has become part of the Western Christian universe. This divided character of Eastern Europe was further aggravated by the Ottoman rule in the Balkans and the Tatar yoke and the subsequent autocratic development in Russia.

If one disregards the Huns and the Avars in the fifth and sixth centuries whose ethnic components are too obscure to label them merely as Turkic peoples, the first ethnic element in the history of Eastern Europe whose ethnicity is surely Turkic is the Bulgars. The Bulgarian tribes first appeared north of the Caucasus in the 460s, and after that they played a significant role in all areas of the Eastern European region up to the 10th century. Several states were founded by the Bulgars between 600 and 900. Though most of them proved to be ephemeral, the Danubian Bulgarian State has survived all vicissitudes of history up till now. The first state founded by the Bulgars was situated on the Kuban river, and it endured no longer than two generations (ca. 600 to 650). This Kuban Bulgaria, or Magna Bulgaria as it was called by later sources, was merged into the mighty Khazar Empire in the middle of the seventh century, and several Bulgarian tribes were dispersed in western and northern directions.

In 679, a strong branch of the Bulgarian tribes passed along the northern coastline of the Black Sea and, crossing the rivers in Moldavia and the Danube, entered the territory stretching to the right bank of the Lower Danube. These Bulgarian tribes, headed by their chief, Esperükh, conquered the South-Slavic population and founded their state on the northern frontier of Byzantium. The history of Danubian Bulgaria is well known; I would like to call attention only to a few facts of Bulgarian ethnic history. The Bulgarian conquerors were ethnically a minority in the subjected region and were totally absorbed by the indigenous (though not autochthonous) Slavic population in the course of two subsequent centuries. The Danubian Bulgarian State was a typical conquest state in which the conquerors preserved their ethnic distinctiveness only for a few generations, but they gave the name (*Bulgar*) and the military and administrative structure to the new state. The Bulgars as a Turkic *ethnos* disappeared, but their active participation in the Bulgarian Slavic ethnogenesis is undeniable. It may sound paradoxical, but without the advent of the Turkic Bulgars and their state-building, the ethnic survival of the southern Slavs in modern Bulgaria would have been problematic. The absorption of Slavic ethnic masses by the Greeks in Greece shows that the above supposition is not merely a baseless conjecture.

Another group of Bulgarian tribes moved northward to the middle Volga-Kama region, mainly to the territory of the present-day Kazan Tatar Republic. While the

exact date of the appearance of the Bulgars in this region is debated, most archaeologists think that it must have taken place not earlier than the end of the 8th century. The Volga Bulgars merged with the local Finno-Ugric tribes and established their state in the 9th and 10th centuries. The embracing of Islam at the beginning of the 10th century meant the end of this process. By the 10th century, a strong Muslim state ruled, inhabited mainly by Bulgar-Turks. In the 10th to 13th centuries, the Volga Bulgar state was a significant regional power in Eastern Europe, the strongest eastern partner and opponent of the Russian principalities. It played a key role in the east-west commercial contacts and can rightly be considered the farthest outpost of Islamic civilization in the North. The statehood of Volga Bulgaria was put to an end by the Mongol conquest in 1236/37. The territory of Volga Bulgaria became a part of the Western Mongol Empire for a long time, and it regained its independence as a separate Tatar Khanate only in the first decades of the 15th century. After the loss of Volga Bulgar independence, the Bulgar-Turkic ethnic elements were gradually absorbed by other Turkic tribes later known as Tatars. The question of the Volga Bulgarian ethnic survival is very entangled. Here it seems sufficient to mention that only a peripheral Bulgarian group on the right bank of the Volga could preserve its mother-tongue, called Chuvash since the 16th century. It seems probable, however, that the bulk of today's Chuvash people are not directly descended from the Volga Bulgars, rather they are successors of Finno-Ugric tribes that adapted the Volga Bulgarian tongue during the Volga Bulgarian rule.

A third major group of the Bulgarian tribes were scattered west of the river Don and north of the river Kuban. These were the Bulgars who remained under Khazar suzerainty after 650 for several centuries. These Bulgarian tribes living in Khazaria in the territory of one-time Bulgaria, totally disappeared from history after the centuries of the Khazar rule. But, in the 7th to 9th centuries, the Bulgar groups living under Khazar suzerainty, or within the Khazar sphere of interest, played a key role in the ethnogenesis of the Hungarian people, the details of which long have been shrouded in mystery even though the basic lines have been elucidated. The most conspicuous contradiction of early Hungarian history is the fact that when the Hungarian tribes conquered the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century, they conveyed the impression of being a well-organized nomadic confederation like the Huns and the Avars of the preceding centuries. So it was not by chance that contemporary Europe identified them as the successors of the Huns and the Avars. On the other hand, the Hungarian language, which, as has been well established since the 18th century, must have been the language of the majority of the land-conquering Hungarians, is a Finno-Ugric one both in its grammatical structure and in its basic vocabulary.

The key to the solution of this problem lies in the Turkic "loanwords" of the Hungarian language. The present day Hungarian language has approximately 300 pre-10th-century Turkic loanwords, most of which display linguistic peculiarities characteristic of the Bulgaro-Chuvash type. It is not only the high figure but also the basic character of these loanwords that is striking. Basic words of animal-husbandry, agriculture, everyday life, and dress or concepts of social, moral and

religious life are of Turkic origin in the Hungarian language. The quantity and quality of these Turkic loans clearly indicate that they are not the result of ordinary loan-contacts, but the linguistic imprint of a centuries-long, intensive symbiosis of Turkic peoples with the Hungarians. There must have been long periods prior to the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 896 when the Hungarians and Turks lived closely in bilingual societies.

But there are clear indications that Turco-Hungarian bilingualism was alive even at the end of the ninth century. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, the learned Byzantine emperor, wrote in his work "De Administrando Imperio" (§39) that the Kabars were of Khazar origin and that once they had revolted against their Khazar overlords. Their rebellion having been put down, they fled to the Hungarians and mingled with them. The Kabars taught the Hungarians the Khazar language but they knew and used the other (i.e. their own) language as well. The three rebellious Kabar tribes had one common chief even in the 950s when the Byzantine emperor compiled his work. This is a very important account since one of the emperor's informants, Bulchu, was himself the head of the Kabars, called *karkha*. This dignitary of the Khazars was third in rank within the hierarchy of the Hungarian confederacy in the middle of the 10th century.

Considering these facts, it becomes obvious why the contemporary Byzantine and Arabic sources describe the Hungarians as Turks. The Hungarians in the 9th and 10th centuries were Turkicized to a great extent in their social and military organizations, world-view, and language. And last but not least, Turkic ethnic elements were an organic part of this Hungarian tribal confederacy.

It is interesting to compare the Bulgaro-Slavic and the Hungarian ethnogenesis. In the former case, a small Bulgarian-Turkic confederation conquered Slavicized Thracian masses and soon melted into the Slavic-speaking majority. Only a few loanwords of the Bulgarian language testify to the ancient Bulgarian-Turkic effect. On the other hand, the Carpathian Basin was conquered by a Turkicized confederacy whose major spoken language was a Finno-Ugrian tongue – the Hungarian. The Slavic peoples living scattered in the central parts of the Carpathian Basin subsequently melted into the conquering Hungarian and Turkic elements. The latter must have exceeded the number of the Slavic population, otherwise the Slavic population would have survived in Central Hungary and Transylvania. The Slavs, however, were able to survive only in the mountainous region of Upper Hungary (today's Slovakia).

The influx of nomadic waves did not cease with the advent of Hungarian conquerors in the Carpathian Basin, although the embracing of Western Christianity and the foundation of the Hungarian Kingdom by Saint Stephen I in 1000 A.D. was of pivotal importance for the further development of this region. A strong Christian and European state, as Hungary became in the 11th century, put a halt to further eastern migrational waves of nomadic peoples. From that time onward the nomadic waves were swallowed by Hungary and Byzantium.

In the 10th to 13th centuries, two nomadic confederations ruled the Pontic steppe region in the territory which is now Southern Russia and the Ukraine: the Pech-

enegs and the Cumans. The Pechenegs, whose early history leads us back to the Aral Sea region, became the dominant power of the Pontic region after the Hungarian conquest and the decline of the Khazar power in the 10th century. But the appearance of a new nomadic confederation, the Cumans or Kipchaks, put an end to Pecheneg rule, and in the middle of the 11th century they were pushed westward. Most of the Pechenegs settled in the Hungarian Kingdom and in the Balkan territories of Byzantium. Ethnically they were absorbed by the Hungarian and the South-Slavic population.

The appearance of the Cumans or Kipchaks was more important for the ethnic history of Eastern Europe. This Turkic confederation came into existence in Southwest Siberia and the Kazak Steppe by uniting the Kipchak tribes and the Cuman tribes whose origins went back to the Ordos region. The Cuman-Kipchak confederation appeared in the Pontic Steppe region in the 1050s and dominated the region until the time of the Mongol conquests in the 1220s and 1230s. The Cumans, whose name was translated into Russian as *Polovtsi* ("the Pale Ones"), played an important role in the history of the Russian principalities in the 11th to 13th centuries, sometimes as allies, sometimes as enemies of the Russian principalities in their internecine wars. Family contacts between Russian princes and Cuman princes are well attested in the Russian annals, but prior to the Mongol conquest the Cumans played no substantial role in the ethnic history of the Russian Lands. The same is also true for Hungary, although several Cuman raids into Hungary are registered in the sources. But at the end of the 12th century, the Cumans' role was instrumental in the foundation or reestablishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom.

Byzantium had never acquiesced in the loss of Moesia, a former territory of the Empire, and after several attempts Emperor Basileios II Bulgaraktonos finally crushed the Bulgars' resistance in 1018 and incorporated what was then Bulgaria into the Romaic Empire. After more than 150 years of Byzantine overlordship, a rebellion began in 1185 against the Byzantines under the leadership of two brothers called Peter and Asen. The first onslaughts of Peter and Asen's revolt were beaten back by the Byzantine forces, and the defeated Bulgarians fled to the left bank of the Danube to seek refuge and ask help from the Cumans. In the following twenty years, Bulgarian independence was fully restored with the Cumans' aid, and Asen's successors, the Asenid dynasty, succeeded to the Bulgarian throne. The historical role of the Cumans in this fight is quite evident: without an active Cuman participation the Second Bulgarian Empire could never have been restored. In addition to the Cumans' role as hired mercenaries, they played an active part in the ethnic history of the Balkans as well. Asen and his family were of Cuman origin, a reflection of the fact that some Cuman groups remained in the Balkans in the 12th century. Later they merged with the Vlakhs, Romanized Balkan shepherds. So it was the Vlakhs and their Cuman chiefs who initiated the liberation movement of Bulgaria.

After the Tatar invasion of Eastern Europe in 1241, the Cumans were compelled to flee to the West, and several groups settled in the Balkan Peninsula. Utilizing

their former intimate links with the Bulgarian upper layers, they twice appeared as founders of new dynasties, the Terterids and Shishmanids of Bulgaria. Besides, Cuman troops continued to be hired as auxiliaries both by Byzantium and Bulgaria throughout the 13th and 14th centuries.

The Cumans also played an important role in the formation of the Wallachian State at the end of the 14th century. Basarab, the first Wallachian ruler, and many of the first Romanian noblemen were of Cuman extraction. The whole territory of what was to become Wallachia and Moldavia was called *Cumania* in the 13th and 14th centuries; it was inhabited mainly by Cumans at that time. Just after the restoration of the Second Bulgarian Empire at the end of the 12th century, the Vlakhs began intensively to migrate to the left bank of the Danube. The absorption of the Cumans by the Vlakhs was one of the major events in the ethnic history of the Romanians in the 13th and 14th centuries.

In addition to the Cumans' role in the ethnic history of the Bulgarian and Romanian peoples, they have contributed to the ethnic history of the Hungarian people as well. After the Tatar campaign in Hungary in 1241, Cumans settled in Hungary in great numbers. There, in contrast to their presence in the Balkans, they settled in compact groups so they were able to preserve their language and customs well into the middle of the 16th century.

After the Mongol storm over all the Balkans and Hungary, the main bulk of the Kipchak tribes remained in their former habitats in the Pontic and Kazak Steppes. The conquering Mongol upper layer was soon assimilated by the masses of the Golden Horde, the westernmost Tatar state. In the course of ethnic processes of the 13th and 14th centuries, new Turkic ethnic entities emerged: the different Tatar groups (the Crimean, the Kazan, the Astrakhan, etc. Tatars) and the Nogays. These peoples came about by the mingling of different Turkic, mainly Kipchak, groups with the conquering Mongols. Of the Tatar groups only two major peoples have survived to our day: the Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea. The Tatars of Kazan were subjugated by the Muscovite State in 1552, and the Khanate of the Crimea was annexed to Russia in 1783. Since then, all Tatar groups have lived under Russian, and later Soviet, suzerainty. The question emerges whether the Tatars had any substantial role in the ethnic history of the Russian and other Slavic nationalities. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, religious, political, and cultural barriers prevented any substantial blood mixture between the Tatars and the Eastern Slavs, although the ever strengthening service class of Muscovy absorbed several Tatars who had entered Muscovite service. But, from the time of Kazan's capture a new and intensive phase of the Russian-Tatar contacts began. In that process numerous distinguished Tatar families became Russified as part of the Russian nobility.

The Tatar ethnic impact can best be observed with the ethnogenesis of the Kozaks. Several groups of the Kozaks were formed in the 15th and 16th centuries in the territory of present-day Southern Russia and the Ukraine, which was at that time the southern borderland of Muscovy. Though the ethnic basis of the Kozaks was Eastern Slavic, a considerable amount of Tatar blood was added to the Slavic layer.

In summary, in addition to the Turkish nationality in the Balkan lands, three Turkic ethnic units have survived in Eastern Europe: the Crimean Tatars, the Kazan Tatars, and the Chuvash. But the extension of Turkic peoples in Eastern Europe, as described in this essay, was once much more considerable than the present state would indicate. Bulgarian Turkic tribes actively participated in the ethnogenesis of the modern Bulgarian and Hungarian peoples, and the role of the Kipchak-Cuman tribes was instrumental in the formation of the Hungarian, Romanian, Russian and Ukrainian peoples. The Tatar ethnic impact on the Eastern Slavic peoples was less decisive, since it affected them at a later phase of their ethnic formation.

Finally, it is worthwhile investigating whether – and if so to what extent – the history of these Turkic peoples was used in creating modern national ideologies in Eastern Europe. It is quite natural that the Crimean and Kazan Tatar national ideologies have drawn on their own past, the history of independent Crimean and Kazan Khanates, and the preceding Golden Horde period. On the other hand, for Russian and Ukrainian nationalisms, the Tatars are the archetype of evil, causes of all shortcomings of their national histories. The Tatars play the same role in these nationalisms as the Ottoman-Turks do in Balkan nationalisms.

Romanian nationalism has never made use of the Cuman component of Romanian history, having rather always been more fascinated, sometimes even obsessed, by the Latin origin of the language or by the alleged and improbable theory of Dacian continuity. The Slavic, Turkic, and Hungarian components of Romanian ethnic history have not become ideological parts of Romanian nationalism.

It is interesting to compare modern Bulgarian and Hungarian nationalisms in this respect. Bulgarian nationalism has always laid emphasis on the Slavic character of the Bulgarian nation. Cyril and Methodius, the inventors of Slavic alphabets and apostles of Slavic culture, the Byzantine ecclesiastical and cultural roots, and the help of big brother Russia – these are the favorite themes of Bulgarian nationalism. The historical role of the Bulgarian-Turkic founding fathers, though appreciated in the scholarly literature, has never become an organic part of the Bulgarian national consciousness. Moreover, never is it mentioned that the Bulgars of Esperükh were part of the same Turkic nomadic world whence the predecessors of the hated Ottoman conquerors sprang forth.

In contrast to the Bulgarian national consciousness in which Slavic self-assuredness prevails, Hungarian nationalism has always been reluctant to accept the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Hungarian language. The fact that the isolation of Hungarian from other Finno-Ugrian languages took place at least two and a half thousand years ago, causes all historical reminiscences to fade away from the historical consciousness of the people. In the age of nationalism in the 19th century, the thought of Finno-Ugrian kinship was not accepted enthusiastically. Though later universally accepted, it has not become an essential component of Hungarian national thought. On the other hand, the centuries-long contact with the Turkic peoples has left a deep imprint in the Hungarian national consciousness. Hungarian nationalism handled the Turkic components and roots of early Hungarian history

with sympathy and emotion, while it was indifferent at best toward the Finno-Ugric roots.

In short, Bulgarian and Hungarian nationalisms have made use of the Turkic components of their early histories in opposite ways: Bulgarian nationalism minimized, while Hungarian nationalism magnified, the role of the Turks.

II

ORIGINS AND POSSIBLE CUMAN AFFILIATIONS OF THE ASEN DYNASTY

Tibor bácsi emlékének sok szeretettel

For more than a century Bulgarian and Romanian historians have debated the origins of the brothers Peter, Asen, and Kaloyan. Most Bulgarian historians have insisted on their Bulgarian origins, in accordance with the view that the term *Vlakh* refers to Bulgars, and the whole Bulgaro-Vlakh problem is a mere question of terminology. The other view, mainly that of the Romanian and some other historians, firmly holds that the brothers were Vlakhs. Finally, there is a third view, according to which the three brothers were of Cuman descent. Let us see all three possibilities. The first supposition, namely that the brothers were Bulgars, can easily be excluded. F. Uspenskii, the noted Byzantinologist was the first who, in his book on the Second Bulgarian Empire, put forward the supposition that the Byzantine writers failed to mention the name *Bulgar* after the fall of the First Bulgarian Empire, and the name of the Bulgars was substituted by other ethnonyms such as that of the Vlakhs.[1] Uspenskii's view cannot be maintained, Bănescu refuted it in detail,[2] I also tried to prove that the ethnonym *Vlakh* had real ethnical connotation in the 12th-13th centuries.[3]

But there is one more argument left in the arsenal of those who try to verify the brothers' Bulgarian descent. Pope Innocent III had an intensive correspondence with Kaloyan, third ruler of the new Bulgarian state, about the acceptance of the Pope's jurisdiction by the Bulgarian Church. Both parties were motivated by their own interests: the Pope wanted to extend his ju-

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1 Uspenskii 1879, p. 153.

2 Bănescu 1943, pp. 13-21.

3 In my unpublished essay "Cumans and Tatars in the Balkans", hopefully to be published soon as a separate volume.

risdiction in the Balkans, and Kaloyan wanted to have the imperial crown and a Patriarch as head of the Bulgarian Church. There are two lines of statements in the Pope's correspondence, seemingly contradicting and excluding each other. One of them seems to support the Bulgarian descent of Asen's family, while the other speaks rather of Vlakh progeny. The "Bulgarian party" and the "Vlakh party" could equally find arguments in favour of their respective theories, and each party tried to conceal or minimize the significance of the contradicting data. First, let us see the data, then make an attempt at their interpretation. Innocent III wrote to the Hungarian King Imre, in his letter of 1204, that "Peter and Joannica who descended from the family of the former kings, began to regain rather than to occupy the land of their fathers".[4] On the other hand, the Pope wrote to Kaloyan, in 1199, that he had heard of Kaloyan's Roman descent. In his reply, Kaloyan expressed his satisfaction that God "made us remember of our blood and fatherland we descended from". At another place: "the people of your land who assert that they descended of Roman blood".[5] It is obvious that none can take these statements at face value, since logically they exclude each other. Yet this error was often committed in the past. Thus, e.g., K. Jireček accepted the first statement, namely that the Asenids were descendants of the former Bulgarian tsars. Moreover, he claimed that they were born in Tirnovo, capital of the old Shishmanid dynasty (there is no single reference in support of this assumption!).[6] However, the second statement, namely that the brothers were of Roman descent, he had to refute. Jireček's explanation is clumsy and his argumentation is tortuous: the Roman descent was first mentioned by the Pope, and Kaloyan tacitly and cunningly accepted it since it was favourable to his purposes.[7] Of course, most Romanian historians are very happy with the second statement, namely that the Bulgarian dynasty was of Roman progeny (i.e. Vlakh in their view), and tend to forget that there is also another statement in another letter of the same Pope which annuls the validity of the first one. The solution lies in the interpretation of the texts. Medieval texts cannot be interpreted with rigid logic, but must be placed in their contemporary context. As far as the first statement is concerned, it is the formulation of a typical medieval tenet: the ruling house is always considered the

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4 "*Petrus videlicet et Johannicius, de priorum regum prosapia descendentes, terram patrum suorum non tam occupare, quam recuperare coeperunt*" (Theiner 1863, p. 36).

5 "*... et reduxit nos ad memoriam sanguinis et patrie nostre, a qua descendimus*" and "*... populus terre tue, qui de sanguine Romanorum se asserit descendisse*" (Theiner 1863, pp. 15, 16).

6 Jireček 1876, p. 211.

7 Jireček 1876, p. 219.

legitimate successor of a former ruling house. By saying that Peter and Asen are descendants of the former Bulgarian kings, the Pope simply wanted to express that they are to be considered the legitimate rulers of Bulgaria. That is why they do not "occupy" the land, but "re-occupy" it as their heritage usurped by the Byzantines till then. It was the same medieval ideological tenet that made Attila, King of the Huns, the first Hungarian king. Hence, Árpád and his family, in 896 A.D., did not conquer the Carpathian Basin, but re-conquered it as their paternal heritage from Attila, a view represented also in the Kézai[8] Chronicle. Or, to give another, similarly instructive example, on October 3, 1329, Pope John XXII addressed a letter to a certain Jeretamir (or Jeretanny, in another variation) who was the chief of the Christian Hungarians in the East. The curious letter mentions the Hungarians, Malkaites, and Alans together.[9] Since the two latter were inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus, the Christian Hungarians mentioned in this letter could be only a splinter group of Hungarians living north of the Caucasus. This Hungarian group was either dragged away by or left with the Tatars retreating after their East-European campaign of 1241. It is very unlikely that they would have been descendants of Hungarian groups that did not take part in the conquest of Hungary at the end of the 9th century. The first possibility seems far more likely. In either way, the Pope expressed his satisfaction that "you, my son Jeretamir descended from the tribe of the Catholic princes and kings of Hungary".[10] It is evident that Jeretamir could be a progeny of the Hungarian kings, only in the "spiritual" sense. Even the wording of the two papal letters are very similar: "*de priorum regum prosapia descendentes*" (Peter and Asan) and "*Jeretamir, de stirpe Catholicorum Principum Regum Ungariae descendisti*". Finally, if we take an example from another territory, the Kazan Tatar khans considered themselves legitimate successors of the former Volga Bulgarian sovereigns, though there was no direct connection between the Bulgars and the Tatars.[11]

As for the second statement according to which the Asenid family was of Roman descent, there are several layers of interpretations. To begin with, it was really the Pope who first called Kaloyan's attention to his family's Roman descent. Kaloyan's Vlakh subjects must have really spoken a Neo-

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8 *SRH* 1, 1937, p. 142 sqq.

9 "*Dilectis filiis Jeretanni et universis christianis Ungaris, Malchaytis ac Alanis salutem*" (Bendefy 1942, p. 445). Bendefy's work is of a chaotic character containing much phantasy, but the edition of the text is based on the Vatican original and is reliable. For the *editio princeps* of this bull *see*, Raynaldus xv, No. 96.

10 "*...tu, fili Jeretamir, de stirpe Catholicorum Principum Regum Ungariae descendisti; ...*" (Bendefy 1942, p. 446; Raynaldus xv, No. 96).

11 Pelenski 1974, pp. 139-173.

Latin language, the ancestor of modern Romanian, but it can almost be taken for granted that the Vlakhs of the Balkans had no historical awareness of a "Roman" descent. The name Roman was true only in the sense that they were subjects of Byzantium and, as such, called Ῥωμαιοι, i.e. Romans, since Byzantium regarded herself as the true heir of Rome. The Vlakhs of the Balkans were permeated by South-Slavic folk-culture and Byzantine ecclesiastical high-culture, and it was only their language that linked them to Latin, the official language of the Roman Empire. The Pope, well aware of the Latin origin of the Vlakhs' language, identified them as descendants of the City of Rome. Since this supposition was really favourable and flattering to Kaloyan, Jireček assumed that he must have agreed with it. So the two contradictory statements of the Pope must be understood in the following manner: 1. The Asenids' descendance from the former Bulgarian kings was a contemporary means to express the legitimacy of their rule, and had nothing to do with their *de facto* provenance; 2. the Pope's statement that the Asenids were of Roman descent merely refers to the fact that the Asenids were Vlakhs, and had nothing to do with the Vlakhs' more recent "Roman" consciousness.

Indeed, one cannot neglect those statements in the works of Byzantine and Latin authors which outspokenly refer to the brothers' Vlakh descent. E.g. Ansbert called Peter "*Kalopetrus Flachus*"[12] and Villehardouin asserted that "*Johanis si ere uns Blas*".[13] Furthermore, there is a detail in Nikétas Chóniatés' *History* that makes the origin of Asen indisputable. Once a Greek priest, captured by the Vlakhs, was dragged by them to the Haimos Mountains. He implored Asen to release him from captivity, addressing him in his language since "he knew the language of the Vlakhs".[14] As both the Vlakhs and the Bulgars are mentioned under separate names in Chóniatés, there is no possibility for a misunderstanding: Asen and his brothers were actually of Vlakh descent. But one must not exaggerate, as some Romanian scholars did, and see Vlakh traces even where none is to be found. E.g. Bănescu rejoices that even if the name *Asen* is of Cuman origin, the other two brothers' names, Peter and Ioannica are "purely Romanian", which, in reality, they are not.[15]

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12 Chroust 1964, p. 33, ll. 4-5.

13 Pauphilet 1952, p. 136.

14 "...ἴδρις τῆς τὴν Βλάχων διαλέκτου ..." (van Dieten 1975, i, p. 468, l. 26).

15 "... Pierre et Ioannice, noms purement roumains." (Bănescu 1943, p. 43). *Peter* is "neutral" as to its origin, and *Ioannica* is a Slavic formation, disregarding the fact that the formant *-ica* later entered also into Romanian usage.

The assertion of the pure Bulgarian descent of the brothers was so evidently nonsensical that the best Bulgarian scholars, such as Zlatarski and Mutafchiev, have tried to find solutions more compatible than the Bulgarian descent of the Asenids. Zlatarski proposed that the Asenids were of Cuman extraction who became Bulgars.[16] He says that the brothers were the offsprings of a distinguished Cuman-Bulgarian clan ("Кумано-български знатен род"),[17] the members of which played a leading political role in Byzantium. In addition to their distinguished descent and outstanding personal qualities, their Cuman origins must also have been instrumental in the liberation movement, since only with the military force of the Cumans could one imagine a fight against Byzantium. While the latter argument is right, the weighty political role of the brothers in Byzantium cannot be proved. Indeed, contrary to Zlatarski's contention, the fact that Asen's request to get a *pronoia* in the Haimos was categorically refuted by the Byzantine authorities speaks rather of lack of political influence. Besides, the term Cumano-Bulgarian is rather obscure. Zlatarski's underlying thought was that the brothers were Bulgars with Cuman ancestors. Mutafchiev has chosen another way to arrive at approximately the same conclusions as Zlatarski did. In a long article he tried to prove that Kievan Rus' had very close connections with 11th-12th centuries Bulgaria, and the presence of a massive layer of Russian frontier guards in Danube Bulgaria cannot be denied.[18] Though Asen had a Turkic (Mutafchiev: Turanian) name, actually he must have been of Russian origin. As far as the Cuman affiliations of the brothers are concerned, Mutafchiev finds it a fact easy to explain: Russian aristocracy often intermingled with "Turanian" peoples. In a cautious form he even suggested that the Asenids were descendants of Prince Vladimir Monomakh. Later, in his monograph on Bulgarian history, Mutafchiev formulated his opinion in a very clear way: "The name of the younger [brother] of them is Cuman. They were of Russo-Cuman ("русско-кумански") descent, progeny of some of those prominent emigrants from the South-Russian Steppes who, in the first half of the 12th century, found their second homeland in Danube Bulgaria and soon melted into the local Bulgarian medium".[19] Mutafchiev applied a very sophisticated way to minimize the significance of Asen's Turkic name: first, Asen's family was basically Russian with a very distant Cuman relationship, and secondly, even this Russian family soon became assimilated in the Bulgarian environment. Mutafchiev could claim, thus, a real success for

16 Zlatarski 1933, ii, pp. 426-427.
17 *Idem*, ii, p. 427.
18 Mutafchiev 1928.
19 *Idem*, ii, p. 33.

himself: he eliminated the Vlakhs, minimized the role of the Cumans, made Asen and his brothers Russian princes who were practically Bulgars. A very remarkable conjuring trick, only pity that the assumptions lack scholarly basis and, by it, lose great part of their validity. It is all too obvious that he wanted to eliminate the Vlakhs and Cumans from Bulgarian history, aiming to serve thereby the interests of a preconceived Bulgarian nationalism. There is, however, one common element in the Zlatarski and Mutafchiev theories, namely both of them felt compelled to take the Cuman descent into consideration. Herewith we arrived to the third, the main stream of opinions concerning the Asenids' descent.

It is interesting that F. Uspenskii, fervent defender of the anti-Vlakh theory was the first to suggest that Asen and his brothers were of Cuman extraction.[20] Later, Jireček corroborated Uspenskii's supposition by calling attention to Cuman princes in the 11th-12th centuries who bore the same name.[21] Since then, most researchers accepted the supposition that Asen had a Cuman name (Zlatarski and Mutafchiev too), but the historical conclusions that could be drawn from this fact were very different. As can be seen, Zlatarski made the Asenids Bulgars or at best Cumano-Bulgars, while Mutafchiev succeeded in making them Russians or Russo-Cumans who were practically Bulgars. For those of the Turkish-Turkic school, the fact that Asen had a Turkic name, was obviously sufficient to make him and his descendants Cumans.[22]

Before proceeding to judge the question more in a historical light, we must ascertain whether this Turkic etymology of Asen's name holds true, and if so, what are the further consequences of this fact. In doing so we must not forget that Asen and his family were Vlakhs! The basic fact that gave rise to the idea of the Cuman origin of Asen's name was that there were two Cuman princes with the same name who had lived in the second half of the 11th century. One of the Cuman princes, Osen' (Осень), died in 1082.[23] He must have been the grandfather of the daughter of a certain Ayapa (Аепа) who (i.e., the daughter) became the wife of Iurii, son of Prince Vladimir, in 1107.[24] Ayapa was either the son or the son-in-law of the above *Osen'*.

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20 Uspenskii 1879, p. 108.

21 Jireček i, p. 269, n. 4.

22 Rásonyi 1970, p. 15; *idem*, 1971, p. 153.

23 Lavrent'evskaia letopis', under 6590 (= 1082): "Осень умре Половечьскыи князь" (*PSRL* i, p. 205).

24 Ipat'evskaia letopis', under 6615 (= 1107): "иде Володимер и Давид и Олег к Аепе и [ко] другому Аепе и створиша мир, и поя Володимер за Юргя Аепину дщерь Осеневу внуку, а Олег поя за сына Аепину дчерь Гиреневу [var. Гиргеневу"] внуку." (*PSRL* ii, pp. 282-283).

There was another Cuman prince, *Asin'*, who, together with Prince Sakz', was captured by the Russian Prince Vladimir Monomakh, in 1096.[25] In 1112, mention is made in the Russian Annals of the "town of Osen'".[26] The name of these Cuman princes, and that of Asen and other Bulgarian rulers in his wake, are obviously the same. As the name is not Slavic, everybody thought that it was a Turkic name, but no satisfactory etymology was given. Mutafchiev's haphazard ideas (e.g., the comparison of *Asen* with *A-shih-na*, Chinese transcription of the ruling clan of the Turks in the 6th-8th centuries) cannot be taken seriously.[27] It was L. Rásonyi who gave a more acceptable etymology to the name.[28] He pointed out that the name *Esen* (with an open *ä*) was widely common with the Turkic peoples; it is particularly important that it was also well-known to the Mameluks in Egypt, who were undoubtedly of Cuman origin. The Turkic name *Esen* goes back to the Common Turkic word *esen* 'sound, safe, healthy'.[29] Moreover, all the Russian forms of the name Осень (Осѣнь, Асѣнь, Асинь),[30] as well as the Greek forms 'Ασάν, 'Ασάνς,[31] can be well explained from a Turkic *Esen*.[32] Some members of the Bulgarian Asen family entered into Byzantine service in the 13th-14th centuries,[33] and the late descendants of these Byzantine Asenids formed the Romanian boyar's *Asan* clan.[34] The family name in New-Greek[35] probably goes back to the same origin. On the other hand, one has to remember

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25 In the *Pouchenie Vladimira Monomakha*, under 6604 (= 1096): "... и заутра на Госпожин день идохом к Беле Вежи и Бог ны поможе и святая Богородица избиша 900 Половець и два князя яща Багубарсова брата Асиня и Сакзя, и два мужа толко утекоста, и потом на Святославль гонихом по Половцих." (*PSRL* ii, pp. 248-249).

26 Lavrent'evskaia letopis', under 6621 (= 1112): the Russian princes "... доидоша до града Осенева" in their campaign against the Cumans (*PSRL* i, p. 275). This *Osenev grad* must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Don (*cf.*, Aristov 1877, pp. 9-10; Mutafchiev 1928, p. 15).

27 Mutafchiev 1928, pp. 11-12.

28 Rásonyi 1969, pp. 82-83.

29 For the data *see*, Rásonyi 1969, p. 83 and Clauson 1972, p. 248.

30 For the Russian and Slavic forms *see* above and Mutafchiev 1928, p. 15, nn. 2-6.

31 For the Greek forms *see, Byz.-turc.* ii, pp. 73-75.

32 The rendering of an initial open *e* (*ä*) by the letter *a* in Slavic and Greek transcriptions of names of foreign origin was quite common. The letter *o* is regularly used in Russian texts to represent an unstressed *a*. The palatal *n'* and the use of the *iat'* in the Slavic transcriptions indicate that the second syllable must have been palatal in the original Turkic word.

33 *See*, Uspenskii 1908.

34 Mutafchiev 1928, p. 12, n. 4.

35 Buturas 1912, p. 102.

that another Asen is referred to in a Slavic source[36] as *Бѣлгунь* which also seems to be of Turkic origin. According to Mladenov, it comes from a Turkic *bilgün* 'one who knows, wise'.[37]

While the Turkic origin of the name *Asen/Asan* can be taken for granted, the historical conclusions drawn from this fact by former researchers cannot be accepted. No serious argument can be put forward in support of the Asenids' Bulgarian or Russian origin. On the other hand, a Cuman name by itself cannot prove that its bearer was undoubtedly Cuman. Asen's Turkic (probably Cuman) name must be confronted with the fact that the sources unanimously refer to his being Vlakh. This must be made an essential point in any further deductions: Asen was a Vlakh and bore a Cuman name. In addition to the pure Romanian names, Romanians of the 13th-14th centuries in Transylvania also bore Slavic, Hungarian, and Turkic names.[38] All these layers of the Romanian personal names display various ethno-cultural influences that had affected the Romanians during their history. Since the Vlakhs (predecessors of the later Romanians) lived in the Balkans before 1185, and only sporadically, if at all, settled on the left bank of the Danube, only Turkic peoples of the Balkans can be considered lenders of Turkic names to the Vlakhs. As the Cumans were the most frequent guests (whether invited or not) in the Balkans and a number of Cuman princes of the 11th-12th centuries bore the name Asen, the most probable explanation for Asen's Turkic name is that it came from the Cumans. But the Pechenegs cannot be excluded either, because their language must have been very similar to that of the Cumans, and Pecheneg settlements must have come about in the Balkans in the 12th century after their final defeat by the Byzantines, in 1041. Moreover, in the 12th century a certain symbiosis of the Vlakh and Cuman population must be reckoned with. As with most nomadic peoples coming to Europe from the east, the Cumans too were marauding raiders, warriors who, after their victories or defeats, mostly withdrew from the territory of their inroads. As is also common with nomadic peoples, contingents of Cumans, having separated from the bulk of the confederacy, remained in the Balkans and merged with the Vlakhs. The numerous common features in both peoples, may have facilitated their fusion. Taking into consideration all the

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36 *Sinodik Borila* in Popruzhenko 1928, p. 77, § 91.

37 Mladenov 1933.

38 E.g. in a diploma of 1383 the following Vlakh persons (*Walachi*) occur in the neighbourhood of Szeben (Romanian *Sibiu*, German *Hermanstadt*) in Transylvania: *Fladmer/Fladmir* and *Dragmer* (Slavic names), *Neg* and *Radul* (Romanian names), *Oldamar* (Turkic name) (*DHV*, pp. 301-302). *Cf.*, also the index of the above work. — For Romanian names of Turkic origin *see* Rásonyi 1927.

above, the most plausible answer seems to be that Asen and his family were of Cuman origin. As such, they stood at the head of the liberation movement in Bulgaria, and their chief supporters were their people, the Vlakhs. They must have spoken their Vlakh subjects' language, but preserved the legacy, the nomadic warring technics of their Cuman predecessors. Moreover, they must have been in close contact with their not too distant relatives in Cumania. That is why they turned to their one-time kinsfolk to help them fight against the Byzantine Empire. D. Rasovskii called the Asenids half-Cumans ("Полуполовцы"),[39] and he was right. And, since the other half of them was Vlakh, they may rightly be called Cumano-Vlakhs.

In sum, the Asenids were a Cuman dynasty with mainly Vlakh subjects in the 12th, and Bulgars in the 13th century. Thus, both Bulgarian and Romanian history may claim this Cuman dynasty part of their common past and heritage.

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[39] Rasovskii 1939, p. 210.

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III

CUMAN WARRIORS IN THE FIGHT OF BYZANTIUM WITH THE LATINS

From the very moment of its existence until its final fall in 1453, Byzantium had to face the imminent danger of barbaric attacks and inroads. The most frequent and dangerous route of these attacks reached the Empire from north of the Danube, notwithstanding that the deadly blow was given to Constantinople by the Ottomans arriving from the the East through Anatolia. Beginning with the Huns in the second half of the 4th century A.D. and ending with the Tatars in the 13th century, the barbaric hordes had frequently crossed the Danube, ravaged and pillaged the towns of the Balkan Peninsula, turning them into ruins. Not once they made their incursions in the very vicinity of the Golden Horn, thereby endangering the imperial capital itself. From the second half of the 11th century a new nomadic confederacy entered into Byzantium's sphere of interest, that of the Cumans. From 1091 the Cumans gained the upper hand in the Balkans, and their role in the reestablishment of the Bulgarian Empire in 1185–1186 and in its further historical fate was fundamental. Furthermore, they played an eminent historical role in the history of the Fourth Crusade, the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople and the Nikaian Empire. The present paper will

investigate the Cuman participation in the fight of Byzantium with the Latins, during and after the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Even after the restoration of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1187, the Cuman inroads to Byzantium did not cease. Sometimes together with their Bulgarian and Vlakh allies, sometimes on their own, they regularly plundered the settlements and the countryside in Thrace. Between 1202 and 1204 the fights between the young Bulgarian state and Byzantium were at a temporary standstill, because Byzantium increasingly slipped into anarchy, and finally the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders on April 12, 1204 put an end to the Byzantine state for more than fifty years. In the years preceding the catastrophe of 1204 Byzantium had no power to pay attention to and deal with the Bulgarian affairs. The Empire fell into pieces, and a Latin Empire was founded in its place the emperor of which became Baldouin, head of the crusading knights. The Byzantine political emigrants withdrew to Asia Minor, but the Greek cause seemed to decay everywhere: the crusaders prepared themselves to subjugate also the territory of Asia Minor. In this moment of total loss an uprising of the Greek population of Thrace compelled the Latins to march back to the unsettled country. The Greek rebels held the town of Adrianople and Didymotoichon, and turned to the Bulgarian ruler Kaloyan for help against the Latins. Kaloyan ran to help the rebels and marched with his troops near Adrianople. According to Villehardouin, his army consisted of Vlakhs, Bulgars and approximately fourteen thousand pagan Cuman warriors.[1] Nikétas Chóniatés also stressed that the Cuman (Scythian) auxiliaries were innumerable.[2] At this decisive moment the customary Byzantine–Bulgarian enmity turned to the opposite. Both Kaloyan and the defeated Greeks realised that the new danger for both of them was the Latin Empire.

As far as Baldouin learnt of the Thracian uprise, he sent his army there. The Latins recaptured Bizyé and Tzurulon from the Byzantine forces, and Arkadioupolis also fell to the crusaders. In March, 1205 Baldouin, Louis de Blois and Enrico Dandolo, Doge of Venice, surrounded Adrianople, which was defended by the Greeks. They tried to take the town by besieging and undermining the walls, but they failed. On April 12, on a Wednesday following Easter, Kaloyan sent a troop of Cumans against the Latins to test the strength of the enemy. The crusaders vehemently chased them, and when the crusaders wanted te return, a storm of Cuman arrows reached them.[3] The decisive battle at Adrianople took place on April 14, 1205. Kaloyan sent his Cuman warriors to battle under the commandership of a certain Qoǰa (Κοτζᾶς)[4] and ordered them to follow the same nomadic tactics of feigned retreat. The Cumans ensnared the Latins by fleeing and turning back against them. The Latins were killed

[1] Villehardouin, ch. LXXIX: "Johannis li rois de Blaquie venoit secoure ceus d'Andrinople à mult grant ost; que il amenoit Blas et Bogres, et bien quatorze mil Comains, qui n'estoient mie baptizié." (Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 169).

[2] "... τὸ ἐκ Σκυθῶν ἐπίκουρον ..., μηδ' ἀριθμῷ σχεδὸν ὑποπῖπτον, ..." (Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten I, p. 613$_{80-81}$).

[3] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, pp. 614$_{83}$–615$_{35}$ (ed. Bonn, pp. 810–812) = Grabler 1958, pp. 192–194.

[4] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, p. 616$_{39}$. For the name Κοτζᾶς, see Rásonyi 1966–1969, p. 113.

in great number, the Cumans stabbed daggers in them or threw rope around their necks. Louis, Earl of Blois found his death on the battlefield, and the commander-in-chief of the knights' army Baldouin, Emperor of the Latin Empire was captured and carried to the Bulgarian capital Tărnovo. The third leader of the Crusaders, Enrico Dandolo, Doge of Venice succeeded in escaping.[5] In a year after Constantinople's capture by the crusaders, they were severely defeated by Kaloyan's Cumans. The historical significance of this battle cannot be overestimated: it made possible the foundation of the Nikaian Empire in Asia Minor which preserved the Byzantine heritage until the recapture of Constantinople in 1261.

After the battle of Adrianople Kaloyan awarded the Cumans with those towns (κωμοπόλεις) near Byzantium that had payed tribute to the Latins. Terrible days and weeks ensued for the Byzantine population. Chóniatés bitterly laments over the calamities that inflicted the Greeks from two sides: "two peoples devastated the same land and the same people, once they fell on us separately, once with joint forces".[6] In less than two months Kaloyan and his Cumans pillaged and plundered the Thracian countryside, but in June he could not withhold the Cuman warriors from returning home to their summer pastures, north of the Danube.[7]

After the destruction of Thrace Kaloyan and his army went over to Thessaloniké and wanted to grasp the Thessalian towns from the Latins. First, he took the town of Serrai. Then Henry, brother of Baldouin took over the leadership of the crusaders and marched to besiege Adrianople. First, he punished the inhabitants of Apros who went over to Kaloyan's side, then marched to Adrianople. After a long and unsuccessful siege Henry left Adrianople and marched to Didymotoichon, but the heavy rainings caused a flood of the Hebros (Marica) river which left its bed and inundated the camp of the Latins. Both the knights and their Greek opponents considered the flood as a divine sign to stop the campaign. Henry returned to Constantinople, only a small garrison was left in castles and towns held by the Latins.[8] At the beginning of Summer, 1205 Kaloyan captured and ruined Philippoupolis.[9] In the second half of 1205 we have no account of war events, but in January 1206 Kaloyan sent large troops of Vlakh and Cuman warriors to help the defenders of Adrianople and Didymotoichon. The following events were recounted by Villehardouin in a detailed way. Four days before Candlemas (*la feste sainte Marie Chandelor*) Thierry de Dendermonde (*Tierris Tendremonde*) set out to a night incursion accompanied by 120 knights, and in Rousion (*Rousse*) he left only a small garrison. At daybreak the troop

[5] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, pp. 616_{38}–617_{76} (ed. Bonn, pp. 812–814) = Grabler 1958, pp. 194–196. – Cf. also in Nik. Grég. *Hist.* I, pp. 14_{24}–16_{35}.

[6] "τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος ἐδῄουν γένη διττά, πῇ μὲν ἑκάτερα, πῇ δὲ θάτερον παρά θάτερον ἐπεισπίπτοντα." (Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, p. 618_{3-5}).

[7] Villehardouin, ch. LXXXVIII: "... si ne pot plus ses Comainz tenir en la terre, que il ne porent plus soufrir l'ostoier por l'esté, ainz repairièrent en lor païs." (Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 177).

[8] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, pp. 621_{6}–624_{18} (ed. Bonn, pp. 820–826) = Grabler 1958, pp. 201–206.

[9] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, p. 627_{76-86} (ed. Bonn, pp. 829–830) = Grabler 1958, pp. 208–209.

arrived to a village where Cumans and Vlakhs were accommodated. The knights made a surprise attack on them and looted forty horses. During the same night some seven thousand Cumans and Vlakhs also went out to make an incursion. On their way back, not far from Rousion the knights met the enemy. The Cumans and Vlakhs, together with the neighbouring Greeks, attacked the small troop of knights. No more than ten knights out of the total of 120 could avoid death or prison. This battle of Rousion took place one day before Candlemas, i.e. on February 1, 1206.[10]

After the battle of Rousion Kaloyan systematically ravaged and plundered Eastern Thrace, especially the towns of the southern seashore. Neapolis, Rhaidestos, Panédos, Perinthos (or Hérakleia), Daonion, Arkadioupolis, Mesené, and Tzurulon were the main points of Kaloyan's campaign.[11] His troops consisted of Cuman, Vlakh, and Greek soldiers. If a fortress surrendered, he promised shelter and immunity to its defenders but he never kept his promise and put the defenders to sword. Kaloyan and his Cumans were almost at the gates of Constantinople. They captured the town of Athyras lying twelve miles from Constantinople, and according to the concordant testimony of Chóniatés and Villehardouin, they made a terrible massacre.[12] Only two towns of Eastern Thrace, Bizyé (Vize) and Sélymbria (Silivri) could avoid the Cumans' looting and plundering.[13] Kaloyan and his Cumans ravaged the countryside throughout the whole period of the Lent and even after Easter. The Greeks gradually came to realise that Kaloyan and his Cuman auxiliaries were even more formidable enemies than the Latin crusaders, since Kaloyan had all the captured towns ruined. So the harrassed population of Thrace turned for help to the Latins again. In June 1206 Kaloyan commenced the siege of Didymotoichon anew, but the Latin knights soon appeared and compelled him to draw back.[14] Having returned to Constantinople the knights enthroned Henry as Emperor of Constantinople on August 20, 1206. Till that time Henry was only regent of the Latin Empire, since the news of his brother Baldouin's death was not confirmed before.[15] When Kaloyan learnt that the vicinity of the two strrongholds Adrianople and Didymotoichon was defended only by Branas, who was in the service of the Latins, he set out to Didymotoichon and razed the town to the ground. Then Henry hurried to help the defenders of Adrianople and made a short campaign to Krénon, Beroé, Agathopolis, and Anchialos, and at the beginning of November he returned to Constantinople.[16]

[10] Villehardouin/Pauphilet, pp. 180–182. – The same event in brief is in Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, p. 628_{21-29} (ed. Bonn, pp. 830–831) = Grabler 1958, p. 210.

[11] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, p. 629_{35-60} (ed. Bonn, pp. 831–833) = Grabler 1958, pp. 211–212. – Villehardouin/Pauphilet, pp. 182–184.

[12] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, pp. 629_{61}–630_{90} (ed. Bonn, pp. 832–834) = Grabler 1958, pp. 212–213. – Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 184.

[13] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, pp. 630_{91}–631_{4} (ed. Bonn, p. 834) = Grabler 1958, p. 213. – Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 184.

[14] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, pp. 631_{17}–633_{53} (ed. Bonn, pp. 835–836) = Grabler 1958, pp. 214–215.

[15] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, p. 642_{73-80} (ed. Bonn, p. 847) = Grabler 1958, p. 224.

[16] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, pp. 645_{89}–646_{11} (ed. Bonn, pp. 852–853) = Grabler 1958, pp. 229–230. – Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 190.

Though Kaloyan ravaged the Greek towns of Thrace and Macedonia and caused much harm and damage to them, he was the natural ally of Theodóros Laskaris who wanted to save and resuscitate the Byzantine imperial tradition in the east of the former Byzantine Empire with the centre Nikaia. The common enemy for both was the Latin army of the crusaders. Next year, i.e. in 1207 at the beginning of Lent Kaloyan set up a huge army of Cuman, Vlakh and Bulgarian warriors and raided Rhómania again. He never gave up to take Adrianople, the centre of Thrace. He spent the whole April at Adrianople, and this time was on the verge of taking the city, but the Cumans said "that they would not remain with Johannis [i.e. Kaloyan], but they wanted to return to their land. So the Cumans abandoned Johannis. But without them he did not dare to remain at Adrianople, so he set out and left the city".[17] Thus, as was seen several times, the Cumans withdrew to their summer pastures, unwilling to take part in Kaloyan's campaign. Adrianople was saved from the Vlakho–Bulgarian capture again.

The summer season of 1207 passed without any major warlike events, and in autumn Kaloyan marched against Thessaloniké. He did not stay much at the capital of Macedonia, as he was murdered by a Cuman in October, 1207.[18] A hectic period of three years following the capture of Constantinople now came to an end. With Kaloyan's death a new period opened in the history of the Bulgarian, Latin, and Nikaian Empires. Greeks and Latins alike became free from the pressure of the Bulgarian Empire for a while. Kaloyan's successor became his nephew Boril who was the son of the three brothers' sister. His reign falls outside the time limits of this paper.

Kaloyan was a conceptuous ruler. He not only wanted to preserve Bulgarian independence regained by his brothers Peter and Asen, but also tried to unite the Byzantine Empire with the Bulgarian. His dream was a Greco–Bulgarian Empire. He was brought up in Byzantine surroundings in Constantinople as a hostage, and the splendour of Byzantium could not leave his soul untouched. The way to realise his dream was opened by the crusaders who crushed the strength of decadent Byzantium. But it was the same crusaders who also hindered him from bringing his ambitious plans to conclusion. The joy of the Greek population of Thrace that first greeted Kaloyan as a saviour from the Latin tyranny, soon turned to hatred when his cruelty became apparent to all. His cruelty pushed the Greeks to the hated Latin side, and

[17] Villehardouin/Pauphilet, pp. 193–196. – " ... et distrent que il n'i remanroient plus a Johannis, ainz s'en voloient aler en lor terre. Einsi se partirent li Commain de Johannis; et com il vit se, si n'osa remanoir sanz eus devant Andrinople. Einsi s'en parti de devant la ville, et la gueroi". (Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 196).

[18] "μέχρι γοῦν καὶ αὐτῆς καταντήσας θεσσαλονίκης ἐκεῖσε θνήσκει πλευρίτιδι νόσῳ κατασχεθείς, ὡς δέ τινες ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐκ θεομήνιας αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος γέγονεν· ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ καθ' ὕπνους ἔνοπλον ἄνδρα ἐπιστῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ δόρατι πλῆξαι οἱ τὴν πλευράν." (Geórg. Akr. *Chron.*/Heisenberg I, p. 23$_{19-23}$). Akropolités does not state that the warrior was Cuman, nor does he mention his name. P. Hunfalvy (1894, p. 296) claims that a certain Cuman commander called *Manastras* killed Kaloyan, but he forgot to give any reference. He must have thought of Μαναστρᾶς, Cuman commander of Ivan Asen I's troops in the years around 1200 (*Byzantinoturcica* II, p. 192). This person is mentioned in Greek legends of St. Démétrios (Ióannés Staurakios and Kónstantinos Akropolités) the editions of which were unfortunately inaccessible to me.

Kaloyan's strong Cumano–Vlakho–Bulgarian league was not strong enough to crush the united efforts of the Greeks and Latins. Seeing the stubborn opposition of the Greeks Kaloyan's admiration for Byzantium also turned to the opposite. According to Akropolités, Kaloyan called himself *Rhómaioktonos* 'killer of the Romans [i.e. Byzantines]' per analogiam *Boulgaroktonos* 'killer of the Bulgars' which was the sobriquet of Emperor Basileios II who demolished the First Bulgarian Empire in 1018.[19] But the hatred of the Byzantines against him was equally gleaming. The same Akropolités recounted that his Greek sobriquet was *Skyloióannés* 'canine John'.[20] The linguistic humour of the appelation is evident: his abusive qualification as 'canine' (σκύλαξ 'whelp, cub' in Greek) rhymes with the name of the barbaric people of the Scythians (in Greek) who were the chief allies of Kaloyan. Kaloyan died and his high-reaching plans of a Greco–Bulgarian Empire faded away for ever (Uspenskij 1879, p. 255; Ostrogorsky 1940, p. 305).

The Cumans played a special role in the history of the Balkans in the 12th–13th centuries. Their ubiquitous presence in the wars and battles of the Haimos Peninsula was well known to the contemporaries who were aware that without their military aid none of the belligerent parties could claim victory over the other party. For example, Giovanni Villani stated that later the Cumans' role was instrumental in the fall of the Latin Empire.[21] The party that hired Cuman warriors could almost be sure that they would not lose any major battle.

Two questions arise concerning this special role of Cumans in the Balkanic events of the 12th–13th centuries. First, why were the Cumans hired mostly by the Vlakho–Bulgarian coalition, and secondly, what was the secret of the Cuman successes? The clue to the first answer lies in the Asenids' affiliation to the Cumans. The Asen dynasty had intimate connections with the Cumans, being itself of Cuman origin. Though the nomads were not particular about their allies, namely they yielded their help to the party from which they expected more booty and award, their common nomadic and cultural roots with the Asenids facilitated joining forces to the Vlakho–Bulgarian Empire.

The answer to the second question needs more explanation. Rasovskij asserted that the decisive role of the Cumans in the Balkanic wars can be ascribed to their number and war techniques (Rasovskij 1939, esp. p. 205). Basically he was right, though the second factor, namely the role of their war techniques was by far more significant than the first one. The nomadic light cavalry was practically invincible in

[19] "ἀντάμυναν οὖν, ὡς ἔφασκεν, ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ὧν εἰργάσατο πρὸς Βουλγάρους κακῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος, καὶ καλεῖσθαι μὲν ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνον Βουλγαροκτόνον, Ῥωμαιοκτόνον δὲ ὠνόμαζεν ἑαυτόν." (Geórg. Akr. *Chron.*/Heisenberg I, p. 23_{16-19}).

[20] "ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὡς οὐδέποτε τῇ Ῥωμαίων τοσαῦτα παρά του συνέβη κακά, ὡς καὶ ὄνομα τεθῆναι τούτῳ ἐκ κυνὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἔχον Σκυλοιωάννης γὰρ ἐπεκλήθη τοῖς πᾶσι. τὸ γὰρ Σκυθῶν γένος ἰδιοποιησάμενος καὶ κοινωνήσας αὐτοῖς συγγενείας καὶ τρόπου μετασχὼν ἐκ φύσεως θηριωδεστέρου, φόνοις ἐνετρύφα Ῥωμαίων." (Geórg. Akr. *Chron.*/Heisenberg I, pp. 23_{24-24}).

[21] Giovanni Villani, lib. 5, cap. 28: "Ma poco durò il detto imperio [i.e. the Latin Empire], che fu sconfitto e morto da' Cumani." (Villani/Racheli I, p. 70).

the 12th–13th centuries. Let us quote two passages from contemporary Byzantine historians who perfectly characterised this way of war techniques which made them superior to their enemies. Geórgios Akropolités saw the basic difference between the army of the Latin knights and the Cuman cavalry in the following: "He [i.e. Kaloyan] was not in Adrianople for long, but he sent the Scythians [i.e. the Cumans] against the Italians [i.e. the Latins] to use the Scythian war techniques against them. Namely, it was the habit of the Italians to ride on prancing horses that were covered throughout their bodies by armour, hence they rushed on the enemy in a slow movement. The Scythians, on the other hand, were armed more lightly, so they attacked the enemy more freely."[22] Akropolités' characterisation of the difference between the light cavalry of the nomads and the heavy armour of the crusading knights is perfect, needs no further elucidation. Nikétas Chóniatés, when describing a battle near Beroé on October 11, 1187, gave a splendid summary of the nomadic war techniques of the Cumans. This description cannot be surpassed even by a modern analysis of the nomadic war techniques. He writes as follows: "They [i.e. the Cumans] fought in their habitual manner learnt from their fathers. They attacked, shot their arrows and began to fight with spears. Before long they turned their attack into flight and induced their enemy to chase them. Then they showed their faces instead of their backs, like birds cutting through the air, fought face to face with their assailants and struggled even more bravely. They did so several times, and when they gained the upper hand over the Romans [i.e. Byzantines] they stopped turning back again. Then they drew their swords, released an appaling roar and fell upon the Romans quicker than a thought. They seized and massacred those who fought bravely and those who behaved cowardly alike."[23]

The Cumans always stood at their hosts' disposal except during the summer season. As Rasovskij has pointed out,[24] in the summer months they were unwilling to stay in the Balkans, but returned to their homeland north of the Danube. Villehardouin gave a clear description of this phenomenon. After Pentecost, i.e. May 29, 1205 Kaloyan "could not withhold the Cumans in the country, because they did not endure the summer heat and returned to their country".[25] Similarly, two years later in May, 1207 the Cumans at Adrianople said "that they would not remain with Johannis [i.e. Kaloyan] but they wanted to return to their land. So the Cumans abandoned Johannis. But without them he did not dare to remain at Adrianople, so he set out and left the city".[26] The latter passage clearly shows the significance attributed to the Cuman warriors even by contemporaries such as Kaloyan. He did not dare to go on with any major venture without their participation.

In sum, the Cumans' historical role in the restoration of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1187 and in the following events of the upcoming two decades is undeniable. The Cumans had no strategic aims, their primary and short-time goal being rob-

[22] Geórg. Akr. Chron./Heisenberg I, p. 22_{1-8}.
[23] Nik. Chón. *Hist.*/van Dieten, p. 397_{92-97} (ed. Bonn, p. 519).
[24] See n. 23, above.
[25] Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 177; for the original text, see n. 7, above.
[26] Villehardouin/Pauphilet, p. 196; for the original text, see n. 17, above.

bery and pillage. Though their employment in campaigns and battles as mercenaries was of prime importance for both the Vlakho–Bulgarians and the Byzantines and the Latins, they did not present a real long-term menace to the statehood of either of the waring factions.

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IV

The Hungarians or Možars and the Meščers/Mižers of the Middle Volga Region

1. The Hungarians arrived in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th c. A.D. from the east. Certain groups of them, however, did not take part in their westward migrational waves, and, as is also generally known from the history of other nomadic confederations, they remained in their primordial homeland or at least not far from it. The contact between the 'Eastern' and 'Western' Hungarians did not cease at once. The learned Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos mentions in his work that the contemporary Hungarians maintained contact with a group of Hungarians who remained in the East and were called *Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι*.[1] Later on these contacts may have weakened and finally ceased, but in the Hungarian *gesta* of the Árpád age mention was made of the Hungarians who remained in the old country which was called Magna Hungaria or Hungaria Maior.[2] Incited by this report of the old *gesta*, Hungarian Dominican monks set out, for the first time in 1235, to seek and find the 'relatives' of the Hungarians who had remained in the East. As is well-known, father Julianus found them at last somewhere in the Middle Volga region. Julianus' travel account, which was recorded by father Riccardus in a report to the Roman curia, had seemingly passed into oblivion centuries ago, until Martinus Cseles, a Hungarian Jesuit, found it in the Vatican, and fifty years later, in 1745, it was first published by Innocentius Desericius, the Piarist scholar.[3] Since then the subject of Julianus' travels and the Hungarian

[1] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, Budapest 1950, pp. 170-173 (§ 38).

[2] In the Riccardus-report: "Inventum fuit in gestis Ungarorum christianorum, quod esset alia Ungaria maior, de qua septem duces cum populis suis egressi fuerant, ..." (L. Bendefy, *Fontes authentici itinera (1235-1238) fr. Juliani illustrantes*, Budapestini, 1937, p. 21).

[3] I. Vásáry, "A jezsuita Cseles Márton és a Julianus-jelentés (A Magna Hungaria- és a Jugria-kérdés történetéhez)": *Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései*, Budapest, 1974, pp. 261-275.

diaspora of the East has become one of the most debated questions of Hungarian prehistory. What happened to the Hungarians of the Middle Volga region after the storms of the Mongol Period; when did they forget their mother tongue and become irrevocably mingled with the neighbouring Turkic and Russian ethnic groups; under which names do they occur in various written sources? All these intriquate questions require an answer, and I do not delude myself and others that I shall be able to treat these questions in their entirety or to provide final solutions. Instead, I shall mainly investigate the Russian sources, which are perhaps the most important in this respect, and have been rather neglected by researchers of the eastern Hungarian fragments. To my surprise, a picture emerged before me which was very dissimilar to the views of earlier scholars. I was forced to see the history and connections of the peoples designated in the title of the present paper (Možar, Meščer, Mišer) differently from many researchers. In the following I shall attempt to present my view.

First, I will give a sketch of the views prevalent in Hungarian scholarly literature; details will be treated afterwards. I think the first Hungarian scholar who seems to have known one of the above-mentioned three names was György Fejér. He enumerates the peoples of the Ural, among other the Meščers : "*Metscherjakae*, vel Mestscherjakae". He mentions that their name occurs in the Russian primary chronicle together with the Cheremis and the Mordvins.[4] Fejér gained his knowledge concerning these peoples, as he indicates himself (p. 45), from Russian and German works of the 18th century (Schlözer, Ryčkov, Georgi). The apparent similarity of the word *Meščer* with Hungarian *magyar* may have given him the idea to connect the two names : "Sunt Magyarorum reliquiae". More than fifty years after Fejér, it was Bernát Munkácsi who dealt with this question, probably ignoring Fejér's short remarks. He says : "The ethnonym 'Magyar' has been preserved by the *Mišär*s (in the Kazan pronunciation : *Mišar*, in Chuvash : *Mižar*, in Russian : *Meščer*) who dwell on the same territory (south of the Kama). This Tatar speaking people is mentioned by the Russian medieval historical sources under the names *Možar*, *Madžar*, *Mačarin* (*cf.*, *Megyer* and *Magyar*)".[5] Munkácsi clearly presents his views, which have been almost totally shared by Hungarian scholars; everybody referred to his

[4] G. Fejér, *De peregrinis nominibus Magyarorum avitarum sedium indiciis*, Pesthini, 1837, p. 44.

[5] B. Munkácsi, "Az ugorok legrégibb történeti emlékezete", *Ethnographia* 5 (1894), p. 175.

articles as the final authority in this field.[6] His views were accepted by Géza Kuun,[7] and were corroborated by new data from Géza Nagy [8] and Gyula Mészáros.[9] In his pioneering work Gyula Németh does not delve into this question; he draws only on Munkácsi's Russian data, while the Meščers are omitted in his treatment.[10] Among the Russian place-names referred to by Munkácsi, he considers *Mižar*, *Mižary*, *Mišer*, *Mižer-śjirma* as dubious for phonetical reasons (*ibid.*, 330-331). Later on his doubts seem to have ceased, and he takes the *Mišer* = *Megyer* identity for granted.[11] Elemér Moór repeats Munkácsi and Németh on the main lines,[12] but in the Meščers he sees a Hungarian group which was torn off from the bulk of the Hungarians owing to the Pecheneg attack in 889 and later found by Julianus.[13] Lajos Ligeti considers *Megyer* = *Mišer* and *Magyar* = *Možar* as identical,[14] and István Erdélyi is of the same opinion.[15] Károly Czeglédy remarks that the phonetic correspondences are rather obscure, so he has certain reservations concerning these identifications.[16] György Györffy holds the view that the Meščers are a Hungarian split of the Mongol period, who were found by the Hungarian monks near the Suzdalian frontier according to Julianus' letter.[17]

Finally, let us turn to the views of three Slavists, those of Kniezsa, Perényi, and Boba. István Kniezsa, one of the greatest Hungarian Sla-

[6] "Ad «Magnam Hungariam»", *Ethnographia* 6 (1895), p.140 (treatment of the *diploma* of Šack and the name *Mačjarin* from 1483); "Az «ugor» népnevezet eredete", *Ethnographia* 6 (1895), p. 385, n. 1 (the data of the Russian Annals from 1551); "Újabb adalék ad «Magnam Hungariam»", *Ethnographia* 9 (1898), p. 169; and in *Akadémiai Értesítő* 27 (1916), pp. 75-76 (Hungarian data from the Votyak territory).

[7] *Relationum Hungarorum cum Oriente gentibusque orientalis originis historia antiquissima*, ii, Claudiopoli, 1893, p. 202.

[8] In *Századok* 30 (1896), p. 246, n. 1.

[9] In *Ethnographia* 22 (1911), p. 283.

[10] Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*, Budapest, 1930, pp. 325-327.

[11] "A baskir földi magyar őshazáról", *Élet és Tudomány* 21 xiii (April 1, 1966), p. 598; "*Magyar* und *Mišer*", *Acta Orient. Hung.* 25 (1972), pp. 293-299.

[12] *A magyar nép eredete*, Szeged, 1933, pp. 40-41. The 'depth' of his knowledge is best indicated by the fact that beside Németh's work he knows only Buschan's article (in *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* 2, p. 890), where he learned that there was a people called '*meschtscher*'.

[13] *A nyelvtudomány mint az ős- és néptörténet forrástudománya*, Budapest, 1963, p. 74.

[14] "*Gyarmat* és *Jenő*", *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv életrajza köréből*, Budapest 1963, p. 239 (= Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 40).

[15] "Bol'šaja Vengrija", *Acta Arch. Hung.* 13 (1961), pp. 309-311.

[16] "A *magyar* népnév legrégibb előfordulásai a forrásokban", *Pais Emlékkönyv*, Budapest, 1956, p. 275.

[17] *Napkelet felfedezése*, Budapest, 1965, p. 22.

vists, delivered a lecture in the general assembly of the Hungarian Linguistic Society in 1951 under the title "Where did Magna Hungaria lie?". In the historiography of this question Kniezsa's lecture was extremely important, inasmuch as it was he who first tried to corroborate the *Megyer* = *Meščer* identification by strictly linguistic argumentation. His lecture has not been published, as Kniezsa was not willing to give it to the printers. As I learned from Professor Czeglédy, Kniezsa was not satisfied with his arguments, and, in his opinion, he could not convincingly connect the above two names. The thread dropped by Kniezsa was picked up by József Perényi. In 1958 he delivered a lecture at the Orientalist Section of the Hungarian Linguistic Society under the title "Meščer < Magyar : On the History of the Hungarians who Split off before the Conquest of the Land", afterwards he commented on Julianus' travels in an article;[18] finally he summarized his views concerning the eastern Hungarian split-groups in a short popular article.[19] His major work on this theme is still in the making. Perényi attempts to develop Kniezsa's line drawing mainly upon the Russian historical sources, and he regards both the Meščers and the Možars essentially as the remnants of the Volga Hungarians who could have been carried off to the Oka region in the 13th century.

It was Imre Boba who treated this theme in a recently published book.[20] He identifies the Meščers with the Magyars, who in his opinion migrated to the south from the Middle Oka region shortly before 830. Here I have only one remark concerning Boba's title of the chapter; the term 'new approach' is not quite justifiable, because — as will be seen further below — the Meščer-Magyar identification has more than once emerged in Hungarian and Russian works. — The volume entitled *A magyar nyelv finnugor elemei*, ii [The Finno-Ugric Elements of the Hungarian Language] (Budapest 1971, p. 417) regards the *Mišer-Megyer* and the *Možar-Magyar* identity as probable.

Having surveyed the fruits of Hungarian research, we may conclude that, despite minor deviations in the details, a rather homogeneous view is characteristic of it. The names *Mišer*, *Meščer* are considered as borrowings of the tribal name *Megyer*, while the form *Možar* is viewed

[18] For an extract of Perényi's lecture, *see*, *Magyar Nyelv* 54 (1958), pp. 406-407; "Magna Hungaria kérdéséhez", *Magyar Nyelv* 55 (1959), pp. 385-391, and 488-499.

[19] "A honfoglalás előtt elszakadt magyarokról", *Élet és Tudomány* 15 xxxi (July 31, 1960), pp. 967-970.

[20] I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs, Eastern Europe in the Ninth Century*, The Hague–Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 92-101.

as a borrowing from the ethnic name *Magyar*, the self-appelation of the Hungarians. All these names are historically connected to the Hungarians as well, either to the Hungarians of the pre-conquest time (*i.e.* till *ca.* 900 A.D.), or to the Hungarians of the Volga region in the 13th century. Although this view is rather clearly outlined, the deciding historical and linguistic proofs are lacking, and the details are more than obscure. Therefore I think it necessary to make an attempt to move the research from the deadlock it reached after Munkácsi's work. I stress in advance that my main concern is Hungarian prehistory, and I investigate all aspects from this viewpoint.

Now, we can proceed first to the *Možar-Magyar* question. The eastern Hungarians of the post-Mongol period are mentioned in three Russian sources more than 200 years after the devastating campaigns of the Mongol armies. The ethnonym *Magyar* first occurs in a *diploma* of 1483, which contains an agreement between Ioann Vasil'evič Grand Duke of Moscow, his son, brothers, and Ivan Vasil'evič Grand Duke of Rjazan'. The Muscovite Grand Duke forbids the Grand Duke of Rjazan', his boyars and subjects to receive people who pay tribute, the so-called *yasak* (*ясачные люди*) and who fled from Dan'jar carevič, ruler of Kasimov: "And those who went to Rjazan' from the carevič and his dukes after the life of your grandfather, the Grand Duke Ivan Fedorovič, Besermenin or Mordvin or *Močarin*, black people who give yasak to the carevič, [I order] you Grand Duke Ivan and your boyars to dismiss them voluntarily to their places, everybody where he lived, ..." [21] The historical situation is evident from the text. The Khanate of Kasimov, which was formed in *ca.* 1452 under the leadership of Kasim, a Tatar carevič from Kazan', was a buffer state between the expanding Muscovite Grand Duchy and the Khanate of Kazan'; it was Muscovy's means in operating against Kazan'. In this agreement the Grand Duke of Muscovy defends the interests of his protégé, the carevič of Kasimov and wants to assure the taxation of the Finno-Ugric elements, the Besermens, the Mordvins, and the Močars, *i.e.* the Magyars. These people, who were obliged to pay heavy taxes, the *yasak*, however, continually

[21] *Sobranie godudarstvennych gramot i dogovorov chranjaščichsja v gosudarstvennoj kollegii inostrannych del*, i, Moscow, 1813, No. 115, p. 281 : "А которые люди вышли на Резань отъ Царевича и отъ его Князей после живота деда твоего Великого Князя Ивана Федоровича бесерменинъ, или Мордвинъ, или *Мачяринь*, черные люди, которые ясакъ Царевичю даютъ: и тебе Великому Князю Ивану и твоимъ Бояромъ техъ людей отпустити доброволно на ихъ места, где кто жилъ, ..." The variants of this text : *ibid.*, No. 116, p. 284, where the form *Močarin* occurs.

endeavoured to avoid taxation by the Khanate of Kazan' by escaping to the west.[22] The peoples of the *diploma*, among them the Magyars as well, can be localized to the territory of the Grand Duchy of Rjazan', and to the Khanate of Kasimov respectively, which had been formed on the eastern parts of the Rjazan' region. This means that the eastern Hungarians, or at least a considerable group of them, inhabited a territory at the end of the 15th century which was much farther in the west than that where Julianus met them in 1236. After the fall of the Volga Bulgarian Empire in 1236, the eastern Hungarians had been dispersed and had fled to the west. Later on, the heavy taxation to the princes and murzas of the Golden Horde compelled the inhabitants of the Middle Volga region to migrate to the west. The Hungarians were also involved in this centuries-old process. Nevertheless, this process began already in 1237, when Julianus writes in his letter that during his second journey he could not reach the Volga because the Tatar troops occupied Bulgaria and four monks who set out before Julianus met Hungarians of the Volga region at the frontier of the Duchy of Suzdal'.[23] The Suzdal' territory was adjacent to the Rjazan' territory from the north, where the Magyars are mentioned in the above-treated Russian *diploma*.

I call attention to the interesting report of Aeneas Sylvius, the later Pope Pius II, which will be treated here. Aeneas Sylvius' account has been referred to as the first European description of the Ob Ugors, the Voguls and Ostyaks, and he was celebrated as the first representative of Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics. But a thorough analysis of his account shows that he speaks only of the 'Asiatici Hungari', and the Veronese monk has found heathen Hungarians not far from the spring of the Tanais (Don). This place, not far from the source of the Don, could be somewhere in the present-day Rjazan' and Tambov territories where the Hungarians are mentioned in the above *diploma* of 1483.[24]

The next time the Magyars are mentioned is in a *diploma* of the Šack archives dated the 9th of July 1539. In the *diploma*, Ivan IV (the Terrible) deigned to bestow the following upon Prince Kugušev's son, Enikej Tenišev : "the Tatars from among the Tarkhans and Bashkirs and *Magyars* (*Možerjanov*) who are living in Temnikov. We ordered him to judge and bind them according to the old rule, just as his father Teniš

[22] For the Besermens, *see* T. I. Tepljašina, *Jazyk besermjan*, Moscow, 1970, pp. 5-34.

[23] *Napkelet felfedezése*, p. 50.

[24] I have only cursorily touched upon this question, since I have attempted to clarify it in my article referred to in note 3.

judged and bound them before."[25] In the Mongol Empire after Chingis Khan's death various privileged people were called *tarkhan*s, who are often mentioned in different sources of the 13th century, *e.g.* in Ch'ang Ch'un's travel account.[26] They were free of taxes; this privilege was fixed in a deed of gift, called a *yarlïq*. Not only single persons, but whole corporations could also be privileged; *e.g.* the so-called *тарханные ярлыки* guaranteed the exemption from taxes of the Russian priesthood. This institution was taken over by the Russians, and was finally abolished only by Peter the Great.[27] But the institution of the *tarxanlïq* survived until the last century among the Bashkirs.[28] It is interesting that in the above-treated *diploma*, *tarkhan*s and Bashkirs are mentioned side by side; it is not clear, however, why the name of a privileged order occurs in a list of ethnonyms (Bashkirs and Magyars). Artem'ev supposed that these Tarkhans were mainly Chuvash, because in the last century, in a great many settlements which bear the element *Tarkhan* in their names, the Chuvash were the inhabitants.[29] Artem'ev's argumentation is not right theoretically : one cannot state with any certainty that a settlement was inhabited by the same population several hundred years ago. We could answer this question only by means of historical geography, but data concerning the historical geography of the Middle Volga region are meagre and little known at present. Consequently, I would hazard the conjecture only that the Tarkhans of this *diploma* are most probably of Bashkir origin, although the final word cannot be pronounced yet. — Finally, I would call attention to an important moment in the *diploma* of Šack. Magyars and Bashkirs are mentioned side by side in Temnikov.

[25] The text of the *diploma* : "Иоаннъ, Божиею милостию государь всеа Русии, великий князь Владимерский, Новгородский, Московский, Тверский, Смоленский, Пермский, Югорский, Вятский, Болгарский, и иныхъ, пожаловалъ есми князь Еникея Тенишева, сына Кугушева, велел есми Татар изъ тархановъ и башкирцовъ и *можеряновъ*, которые живут в Темникове, судить и вязать ихъ но старине, по тому жь, как напередъ сего судилъ и вязалъ отецъ его Тенишъ. Дана грамота на Москве лета семь тысячь четыредесятъ седмого году июля девятаго дня". (*Izvestija Tambovskoj Učenoj Archivnoj Kommissii* (1888), No. 2495, pp. 30-31. This *diploma* was first referred to by Smirnov (*Mordva*, p. 61, n. 1), Munkácsi and all the subsequent scholars repeat Smirnov's quotations.

[26] *Sinica Franciscana*, ed. Wyngaert.

[27] For the tarkhans *see* I. Berezin, *Vnutrennee ustrojstvo Zolotoj Ordy* (*Po Chanskim jarlykam*), *Žurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.* 1850 oktjabr', otd. ii, pp. 5-6; B. D. Grekov–A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie*, Moscow–Leningrad, 1950, pp. 105-106.

[28] V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Istočniki dlja izučenija tarchanstva, žalovannogo Baškiram Russkimi gosudarjami, Priloženie k IVmu tomu Zap. Imp. Ak.* No. 6 (1864), pp. 1-48.

[29] A. Artem'ev, *Kazanskaja gubernija, Spisok naselennych mest po svedenijam 1859 goda*, Spb., 1866, p. XXIV.

The occurrence of a *Башкирская гора* in a *diploma* from Šack of the 17th century also testifies that the Bashkirs have at one time dwelled near Temnikov.[30] It is well-known, on the other hand, that the original homeland of the Bashkirs was and is between the middle reaches of the Volga and the Ural. This means that they were able to move to the west of the Volga, near Temnikov, only after the Mongol period, during the westward movements of various ethnic elements of the Golden Horde. This statement also implies that the Možer-Magyar group near Temnikov could only have reached Temnikov after the Mongol period, and that they had certain connections with the Bashkirs. Hence, the Bashkirs cannot be totally excluded from the research of Hungarian prehistory, as certain historians have thought in the past few decades; the minimum we must reckon with is that Bashkir–Hungarian connections may have existed at a certain, probably early, stage of Hungarian prehistory.

The third occurrence of the Magyars can be found in the Russian Annals under the year 1551, in the narration of the Russian campaign against Kazan'. The Russians in their approach to Kazan' at first drew quite near, founding the town of Svijažsk at the confluence of rivers Svijaga and Volga, which served as a base for their inroads against the Tatars. Next year, in 1552, the Russian efforts were successful, and Kazan' fell. "And the tsar and the voevodes drew the mountain people [*i.e.* those living in the hilly right bank of the Volga] to justice, the princes and murzas, centesimal and decimal princes and the Chuvash and the Cheremis and the Mordvins and the *Možar*s and the Tarkhans [on the condition] that they serve the sovereign, the tsar and Grand Duke and that they wish him well in everything, and they do not leave the town of Svijažsk, and that the black people pay all sorts of taxes and tithes, as the sovereign ordains and as they paid to the previous tsars, and that they do not retain Russian prisoners, [but] they release them all." [31] After this agreement

[30] The *diploma* was dated November 23rd, 1693, and is addressed to archimandrite Gerasim of the Kirillo-Beloozerskij Monastery: "... до старого Городища до Башкирской Горы ...", *Izvestija Tambovskoj Uč. Arch. Komm.* 14 (1887), p. 24.

[31] Летописец начала царства Ивана Васильевича: "И царь и воеводы Горних людей, князеи и мырзъ и сотных князеи и десятных и Чювашу и Черемису и Мордву и *Можяров* и Тарханов привели к правде на том, что им государю царю и великому князю служити и хотети во всем добра, и от города от Свияжского неотступным быти, и дани и оброки черным людем всякие платити, какъ их государь пожялует и какъ прежним царем платили, и полону имъ Руского никакъ у собя не держяти, весь ослобожяти." (*Полное собрание русских летописей* = *PSRL* 1965, 29, p. 62). The same text can be found in the L'vovskaja letopis' (*PSRL* 1914, 20, p. 482) and in the Aleksandro-Nevskaja letopis' (*PSRL* 1965, 29, p. 162). In both Annals the forms *Možarov* occur.

these peoples marched to Arskoe pole to prove their loyalty to the Russian sovereign; they fought the Tatars of Kazan', but they were defeated this time. Next year, after the capture of Kazan', Enbars murza was sent from Kazan' as an evoy to Ivan the Terrible. "And the sovereign summoned Enbars murza and gave his petition a hearing, and Enbars presented the petition of [his] country. To the tsar and sovereign Ivan Vasil'evič, Grand Duke of whole Russia, Kudajgun [Kuday Kul] in the first place and Prince Muralej and the whole land of Kazan', molns and seits and sheykhs and sheykhzades and malzades, imams, azis, hafizs, princes and ulans and murzas, ichkis, kazaks in and outside the court and Chuvash and Cheremis and Mordvins and Tarkhans and *Možar*s and the whole land of Kazan' present petition to you, the sovereign ..."[32] These texts evidently describe the surrender of the ruling layers of the Khanate of Kazan' and its subjects, including, among others, the eastern Hungarians, to the Russians.[33] Thus the eastern Hungarians of the Middle Volga region shared the historical fate of the Mordvins and so many other peoples of that area. After the fall of the Volga Bulgarian Empire they fell under Tatar suzerainty, first that of the Golden Horde, then that of the Khanate of Kazan'. In the middle of the 16th century they became the tributaries of Muscovy. After 1552, unfortunately we cannot trace the Možars — we will designate the Hungarians of the Middle Volga region by this term in what follows — in the historical sources. But, aside from the above-treated laconic historical sources, their memory has been preserved in place-names.

It was Artem'ev who first noticed place-names in the Chuvash area

[32] Летописец начала царства Ивана Васильевича: "И государь у себя Енбарсу-мурзе велел быти и его челобития слушал, и Енбарсъ подал от земли челобитную грамоту. Царю и государю великому князю Ивану Васильевичю всея Русии Кудаигунъ в головах да Муралеи князь и вся земля Казанская, молны и сеиты и шихи и шехзады и малзады, имамы, азии, афизи, князи и уланы и мырзы, ичьки, дворные и задворные казаки и Чюваша и Черемиса и Мордъва и Тарханы и *Можяры* и вся земля Казанская тебе, государю, челом бьютъ ..." (*PSRL* 1965, 29, p. 64). The same text can be found, disregarding minor deviations, in the Kazanskij letopisec (*PSRL* 1903, 19, p. 392) and in the L'vovskaja letopis' (*PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 484). In the text of the Kazanskij letopisec beside the Cheremis and the Mordvins the Votyaks (Отякѣ) also occur.

[33] Artem'ev (*Kazanskaja gubernija*, pp. LXXII, LXXIII) thinks that the Možars were a privileged order, like the Tarkhans, though he considers both the Tarkhans and the Možars as Chuvash. N. Arcybyšev (*Povestvovanie o Rossii*, ii, kniga IV, Moscow, 1838, p. 175, n. 1108) identifies the Možars of the Annals with Mordvins ("upovatel'no vladel'cy Mordovskie"). These explanations are all wrong, because the indentification Možar = Magyar is acceptable both in the historical respect — as was seen — and in the linguistical respect — as will be seen.

containing the element *Možar*.[34] After him Možarovskij and Smirnov also treated these place-names, adding to them some further ones from the territory of the Nižnij-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Penza, Saratov, Tambov, and Rjazan' *gubernijas*.[35] Before proceeding to the place-names proper it must be noted that there are four hydronyms containing the element *Možar* ~ *Mažar* in the Middle Volga region : 1. *Mažarka* (Čeboksary district, Kazan' gub.), 2. *Mažarka* (Tetjuš dis., Kazan' gub.) (M. Vasmer, *Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässernamen*, iii, p. 177), 3. *Možarka* (Sergač dis., Nižnij-Novgorod gub.), 4. *Možarovka* (Gorodišče dis., Penza gub.) (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 292). In the following I shall give a list of place-names in Russia that contain the element *Možar*.[36]

Gubernija of Rjazan'

District of Sapožok :

Bol'šije Možary (2885; 954 m., 962 w.)

Men'šije Možary (2887; 1095 m., 1148 w.)

District of Spask :

Možarovo (3358; 78 m., 89 w.)

Gubernija of Tambov

District of Kirsanov :

Petrovka (*Možarovka*) (1159; 39 m., 42 w.)

Ol'šanka (*Možarovo*) (1182; 232 m., 240 w.)

District of Kozlov :

Vasil'evskoe, čto na Pol'nom Voroneže (*Možarovo*) (1421; 19 m., 23 w.)

Možarovka (1436; 15 m., 15 w.)

Možarovskij chutor (1459; 10 m., 2 w.)

[34] Artem'ev, *Kazanskaja gubernija, Spisok naselennych mest*, Spb., 1866, p. LXXIII.

[35] A. F. Možarovskij, *Gde iskat' v naše vremja potomkov tech Možar, kotorye v 1551 godu sredi polja Arskogo bilis' s Kazancami vernye prisjage Russkomu Carju?*, Kazan', 1884 (= *Trudy IV. Arch. Sъezda* tom i, otd. ii), p. 19; Smirnov, *Mordva*, Kazan', 1895, p. 61, n. 1. Both authors, however, treat place-names containing the word *Mišer* which, in my opinion, are not of the same origin.

[36] My main source was the series *Spisok naselennych mest*, consequently the pre-revolutionary administrative units (*gubernija* and *uezd* 'district'; for the former one I could not find a good English equivalent) will be preserved. The number in parenthesis refers to the number of the settlement in the volume, then come the figures representing the number of inhabitants (men, women). These figures naturally give a picture of the situation approximately a hundred years ago.

District of Temnikov :

Možarskaja (2612; 5 m., 2 w.)

Gubernija of Penza

District of Kerensk :

Možarovka [37] (720; 123 m., 127 w.)

District of Gorodišče :

Možarovka (Bogorodickoe) (199; 297 m., 352 w.)

Gubernija of Nižnij-Novgorod

District of Sergač :

Možarki Bol'šie (at the rivulet *Možarka*) (4403; 370 m., 385 w.)

Možarki Malye (ibid.) (4404; 358 m., 408 w.)

Gubernija of Simbirsk

District of Kurmyš :

Mažarovskij Majdan (1045; 1785 m., 1953 w.)

Mažar-kasy (1192; 178 m., 182 w.)

Gubernija of Kazan'

District of Jadrin :

Verchnie Močary (3734; 187 m., 197 w.)

Nižnie Močary (*Anat-Močar*) [38] (3735; 150 m., 166 w.)

District of Čeboksary :

Možary (3069; 100 m., 135 w.)

District of Cyvil'sk :

Možarka (Kozmodem'janskoe) (2881; 730 m., 732 w.)

District of Tetjuš :

Novo-Troickoe (Kargala, *Možarovo*) (1977; 216 m., 209 w.)

Bol'šaja Erykla (*Možarki*) (2072; 56 m., 68 w.) [39]

[37] V. Chochrjakov, "O storoževych čertach v Penzenskoj gubernii", *Trudy Penz. Uč. Arch. Kom.* 1 (1903), p. 31, states that it was founded in 1697.

[38] The Chuvash name of these two settlements are *Turi Mučar* and *Anat Mučar* (*Čuvašskaja ASSR. Administrativno-territorial'noe delenie na 1 janvarja 1958 g.*, Čeboksary, 1959, p. 160); they are inhabited by Chuvash. *Anat Mučar* occurs in Ašmarin's dictionary (*Thesaurus*, viii, p. 281) as *Močar*. It must be remembered that ч in modern Chuvash orthography stands for the unvoiced media *DŽ*.

[39] *Možary* in the Čeboksary district is identical with today's *Možary* of the Kozlovka

Gubernija of Ufa

District of Birsk :

Mažarova (1252; 295 m., 333 w.)

District of Menzelinsk :

Archangel'skoe (*Možarovo*) (2273; 45 m., 52 w.)

Ekaterinovka (*Možarova*) (2274; 44 m., 46 w.)

Gubernija of Vjatka

District of Malmyš :

Mad'jar (?)

District of Orlov :

Mad'arovo (?)

These two names are given by Munkácsi (*Ethnographia* 5 (1894), p. 175), but I could not find them in the volume for Vjatka of the *Spisok naselennych mest*; moreover Munkácsi does not indicate his source. At any rate, they can be accepted only with reservations until other data are at hand.[40]

Finally, I would like to present one more piece of evidence which may be connected, perhaps, with *Možar*. There is a chasm 31 versts from Vladimir and 2 versts from Suzdal', which is called *Mžary*, *Amžary*. At one time a little river of the same name was there too. A tradition survived among the Suzdalians towards the middle of the last century, that around this chasm was the "stanovišče Madъjarov".[41] An unstressed *o* or *a* could be reduced in the form *možár*, *mažár*, and finally dropped, thus a form like **mžar* can be supposed, which may have given an *a* prothesis.[42] Traces of the Magyars near Suzdal' are not to be excluded.[43] But, I think that another suggestion is more likely

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rajon. Its Chuvash name is *Mušar* (ɔ : *Mužar*, *Čuv. ASSR*, p. 61). — The settlement in the Cyvil'sk district is called (*vi̯rę̄ś*) *muDŽar* in Chuvash (Mészáros, *Ethnographia* 22 (1911), p. 283). — The Chuvash name of *Možarki* in the Tetjuš district (now in the Jal'čik *rajon*) is *Mučar* (*Čuv. ASSR*, p. 175). In Ašmarin (*Thesaurus*, viii, p. 269) a *Munčar* variant can be found too.

[40] Munkácsi's data are repeated by G. Nagy (*Századok* 30 (1896), p. 246, n. 1). In another place, Munkácsi maintains that in the Sarapul district there was a family called *Ma'djar-vi'dzi*, *Akadémiai Értesítő* 27 (1916), pp. 75-76.

[41] K. N. Tichonravov, "Archeologičeskie zametki o gorodach Suzdale i Šue", *Zap. Otd. Russk. i Slav. Arch. Imp. Obšč.* 1 (1851), otd. i, pp. 85-86.

[42] Nevertheless, I could not find an analogous example for this sound development in Old-Russian.

[43] *Cf.* Julian's letter, in which he gives an account of the Hungarians who fled to the Suzdal' Duchy.

in this case, namely, that we have to do with a derivative of the Russian word *moch* 'moss'. The following derivatives of this words are known : [44] *mšína, mochovína, mchóvina, mošína, mšára, mšárina, mšáva, mšar', mšárnik, mšíšče, mochovíšče*; their meaning is '*mochovoe boloto*; mossy swamp'. Near Rjazan' swamps are called *mšara* in the popular tongue.[45] Otherwise this word is etymologically identical with the Slavic etymon of the Hungarian word *mocsár* 'swamp', but naturally the Russian word has no direct connection with the Hungarian one.[46]

Artem'ev erroneously connected some place-names in the Kazan' territory with the name *Možar* (*Mazary, Mazarskoje, Mazarsk, Madary, Madarskoe*).[47] Already Špilevskij [48] pointed out that the place-names with a medial *z* go back to Chuvash, Tatar *mazar* 'grave, tomb', which are, on the other hand, borrowings from Arabic مزار 'tomb'. The same Arabic word can be the ultimate source — via the intermediary of certain Turkic dialects — of the Russian dialectal word *мажары* '*старое кладбище*; old cemetery',[49] and this fact should warn us against hasty generalizations concerning the origin of the *Možary* place-names. I think, however, that the occurrence of *Možary* place-names in groups, as in the above examples, may guarantee that they originate from the ethnonym *Možar* ~ *Mažar*.

On the basis of the historical sources and the evidence of the place-names, we can see — fragmentary as it is — the historical fate of the Volga Hungarians. But, the picture yielded by the written sources and place-names remains to be corroborated linguistically, *i.e.* the connection of the above-treated ethnonyms to the ethnonym *Magyar* must be explained. In the Russian sources the following forms occur : *Možer, Možar, Možjar, Mažar, Močar, Mačjar*. The most essential point is the correspondence of the medial consonant. As is known, the ethnonym *Magyar* and the tribal name *Megyer* are compound words, their *gy* (*ď*) goes back to Ugric *ńć*. The consonant *gy* in this word came about through

[44] V. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka*, ii (1955), p. 352.

[45] *Rjazanskaja Meščera, Turistskaja schema*, Moskva, 1971 : "Mnogo zdes' i bolot, kotorye po mestnomu nazyvajutsja mšarami."

[46] I. Kniezsa, *Szláv jövevényszavaink*, i/1, Budapest, 1955, p. 340. Hungarian *mocsár* 'swamp' is a Slavic borrowing and has nothing to do with the ethnonyms *Magyar* and *Mišer*. This impossible possibility was, however, brought up by P. Šestakov ("Rodstvenna-li Merja s Vogulami?", *Uč. Zap. Kazan. Univ.* 1873, No. 1, p. 31, in offprint).

[47] *Kazanskaja gub., Sp. nas. mest*, p. LXXIII.

[48] S. M. Špilevskij, *Drevnie goroda i drugie Bulgarsko–Tatarskie pamjatniki v Kazanskoj gubernii*, Kazan', 1877, pp. 98-99.

[49] Dal', *op. cit.*, ii, p. 288.

denasalization and voicing of the *ńć* cluster. In Proto-Hungarian the presence of a *ďź* can be supposed in place of present-day *gy*-s. This *ďź* began to change into *gy* not sooner than the end of the 10th century, but in certain dialects (Csángó, in Őrség) the original *ďź* is still present as an archaism.[50] Now, let us turn to the Old-Russian development. Proto-Slavic **dj* developed into *ďź* in Old -Russian, then through desaffrication into *ź*. This *ź* lost its palatal character during the 14th century and became *ž* as in modern literary Russian.[51] The origin of medial *ž* in the Russian forms *Možar* ~ *Mažar* can be explained in two ways. Baboss explains the Russian forms as direct borrowings from Hungarian **Moďźeri*, and this *ďź* could share the regular Russian sound-change *ďź* > *ź* > *ž*.[52] The other viewpoint is represented by Gyula Németh,[53] who posits a Tatar mediation and thinks that the Russian form is a direct borrowing from Tatar. The historical and linguistic arguments are rather for the latter opinion. The first Russian occurence of a form with *ž* is in 1539. The Russians could have heard of the Volga Hungarians already in the 13th century, but at that time they were under Tatar suzerainty, and their gradual assimilation to the Tatars might have begun. In the *diploma* of Šack they are in the company of Bashkirs and Tarkhans. The Russians had diplomatic contacts with the Golden Horde and the Khanate of Kazan' through envoys, and the peoples living under Tatar domination could be known to them through the Tatars. The language of the Volga Magyars is totally unknown to us, so we cannot trace the development of Proto-Hungarian *ďź* in it. It could be either preserved, or it could develop into *gy* as in the Hungarian of the Carpathian Basin during the age of the Árpáds; what is important is that both a *ďź* and a *gy* could be rendered in Tatar by the affricate *dž*. In Russian there was and is no *dž* affricate, and the palatalized *ź* — as was seen above — became *ž* in the 14th century. Russian therefore substitutes *dž* of foreign words with *ž*, as several borrowings of the Russian language show. I will mention only two, an older and a newer example taken from the Turkic borrowings : Russian *žemčug* 'pearl', where the Turkic etymon must have had an initial *dž*,[54] and Ottoman-Turkish *sancak*, which is rendered as *senžak*.[55] All these are sufficient for us to see in *Možar* the

[50] E. Baboss, *Magyar Nyelv* 53 (1957), p. 441.

[51] V. Kiparsky, *Russische Historische Grammatik*, i, Heidelberg, 1963, p. 120.

[52] Baboss, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

[53] Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*, p. 308.

[54] M. Vasmer, *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i, Heidelberg, 1953, p. 418; L. Ligeti, *Magyar Nyelv* 42 (1946), pp. 1-17.

[55] *See, Zapiski Odesskago Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej* 8 (1872), p. 482.

borrowing of a Tatar *Madžar*. As for the form *Možjar* in one of the Annals, it is just an orthographical peculiarity of the chronicle. The *жс* had a velar pronunciation in the 16th century, independent of the fact that either an *а* or a *я* was written after it. In the same chronicle (*Letopisec načala carstva Ivana Vasil'eviča*), the same orthography can be observed in words like *пожялует, держяти, ослобожяти.*[56]

Turning to the forms *Močar, Mačjar*, they can be explained in two ways. Sometimes *dž* of a foreign word could be rendered by *č* in Russian instead of the more general *ž-* substitution. But, the supposition of a Bulgarian-Chuvash mediation is more reasonable. The unvoicing of voiced consonants in Bulgarian-Turkic took place as early as the 10th century, *e.g.* Russian *понамь, ponama* 'mosque' < Bulgarian < Arabic ربط *ribāṭ, rabāṭ*.[57] Most of the Chuvash forms of the place-names (*see* notes 38, 39) are with *ч*, which designates the unvoiced media *DŽ*, or in Mészáros it is palatalized *D'Ž*. This sound was rendered in Russian by *ч*. D. Pais has remarked that beside the form *Magyar* another variant with the sound *cs* [*č*] can be supposed.[58] But this form cannot be attested, so I think that the suggestion of a Bulgarian-Chuvash mediation is more plausible — the letter *я* in *Mačjar* is a mere orthographical peculiarity. The *ч* designates a palatalized *č* in Russian; it has no velar equivalent, therefore both *а* and *я* can follow it. — Muchamedova connects the place-names *Močalej* (pre-revolutionary districts of Sergač, Buinsk, Kerensk, Kurmyš) to the ethnonym *Možar, Močar* deriving it from a form *Močar-ly*.[59] This view is very dubious and needs further investigation; it does not sound too convincing in its present form.

The first syllable contains either an *o* (it is the more common) or an *a*. On the basis of the Russian data it cannot be decided with any certainty whether the Hungarian word contained *o, a*, or *å*, because all these sounds could be rendered by *о* or *а* in Russian, the first syllable

[56] Or perhaps in this chronicle it is not an orthographical peculiarity, but a dialectal phenomenon which indicates the presence of a *ž* in that dialect.

[57] *Cf.* O. Pritsak, *UAJb* 31 (1959), pp. 305-306.

[58] D. Pais, *Magyar Nyelv* 54 (1958), p. 57, n. 1.

[59] R. G. Muchamedova, *Tatary-mišari*, Moscow 1972, p. 17. It is undeniable that geographical names ending in *-lej* can, not infrequently, be explained both from Turkic and from Mordvin. This ending is either identical with Mordvin *läi* 'river' or with the Turkic suffix *-lï, -li* (for these *see* M. Vasmer, *Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde*, i, Berlin, 1971, p. 95). The place-name *Močalej* is probably not a derivative from *Močar*, but from *Moča*. The latter form can be found in Russian hydronyms (derived from *mok-*); moreover in Chuvash territory a name *Moči-kassi* is known (Ašmarin, *Thesaurus*, viii, p. 282).

being unstressed. At any rate the *u* in Chuvash *MuD'Žar* goes back to *a*,[60] so a form like **maďž-*, **magy-* is more probable.

In the Russian data, there is an *a* in the second syllable (the only exception is *Možerjan* : 1539). The ethnonym *Magyar* originally must have sounded as **Maďžeri*, and this form with *e* in the second syllable survived until the 16th century; it has been only gradually suppressed by the form *Magyar* which is in common use today.[61] The forms like *Možar* of the Russian sources can be explained in two ways. The *a* of the second syllable is either due to a parallel development; *i.e.* in Volga Hungarian there was a tendency towards progressive assimilation as in the Hungarian of the Carpathian Basin,[62] or the Old-Hungarian form *Maďžer(i)* quite normally developed into *Madžar* in Chuvash and Tatar. The latter possibility seems to be far more evident. The *e* in the single Russian form *Možerjan* either reflects the primeval Hungarian vocalism of the word (it is less probable),[63] or it is simply the designation of an unstressed *a* in Russian.

As for the Russian formants, both *-in* and *-janin* are well-known and productive affixes in Old-Russian forming ethnonyms.[64] Concerning the formation of the Old-Russian ethnonym *Možar*, a further observation can be made. In the data of the Russian Annals from 1551 (*see* note 31), the forms *Možarov* and *Tarchanov* occur in plural accusative, while all the surrounding ethnonyms are provided with the formant *-a* and put into accusative (*Čuvašu*, *Čeremisu*, *Mordvu*). At another place in the Annals (*see* note 32) all these names are in the nominative : *Možary*, *Tarchany*, and *Čuvaša*, *Čeremisa*, *Mordva*. It is difficult to determine what lies behind this differentiation, but I venture to give a hint. The Hungarians of the Volga region must have been a split group of small numbers; they were probably scattered over a wide-spread territory, unlike the Chuvash, the Cheremis, and the Mordvins, who lived at that time in more compact groups. That is why, I think, that *-a*,

[60] Z. Gombocz, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter der ungarischen Sprache*, Helsinki, 1912, pp. 138-139; J. Benzing, "Das Tschuwaschische", *PhTF*, i, Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 705.

[61] *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, ii, Budapest, 1970, pp. 816-817; *A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei*, ii, Budapest, 1971, p. 416.

[62] This supposition was put forward by Czeglédy (*Pais Emlékkönyv*, p. 275).

[63] This was J. Németh's standpoint (*A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*, p. 330), who thought that only the form *Možerjan* can be connected to the Hungarians of the period of the conquest.

[64] A. K. Smol'skaja, *Slovoobrazovanie v slavjanskich jazykach*, Odessa, 1971, p. 17.

which is primarily a suffix forming names of territories, could not be applied to the Hungarians. The same may be true for the privileged order of the Tarkhans as well.

Thus, the historical sources, the place-names, and the linguistic analysis of ethnonyms unanimously demonstrate that Julian's Hungarians of the Volga region survived the Mongol invasion. After the fall of the Volga Bulgarian Empire they came under the suzerainty of the Golden Horde, and later on under that of the Khanate of Kazan'. After the conquest of Kazan' (1552) they became subjects of the Russian State, together with the Tatars and other nations of the Volga region. Although their migration and settling apart cannot be definitely described, owing to lack of data, it can be observed that they gradually moved towards the west of the Volga (as Julian found them "iuxta flumen magnum Ethyl"). Judging from the location of the toponyms containing the element *Možar*, two major centres of settlement can be clearly distinguished, apart from a few scattered settlements : one is placed in the great bend of the Volga, on its right bank, mainly on the present-day Chuvash territory, while the other is situated in the middle part of the Rjazan' region and the northern part of the Tambov region. Thus, after the Mongol period, the majority of eastern Hungarians lived to the west of the Middle Volga. The emergence of new Russian data which might throw some new light on the history of Hungarian settlements between 1236 and 1552, is not too probable, as the territory stretching to the Volga became part of the Muscovite State only in 1552, and besides, the institution of chancelleries (*prikaz*) came into existence only in the beginning of the 16th century. But the history of these settlements in the 17th-18th centuries, on the basis of Russian *diplomas* and registers, is still an important task to be done. It would be equally important to know the form of place-names containing the element *Možar* in the sourrounding languages, especially in Chuvash, Tatar, and Mordvin. It may have become evident from the above-treated Chuvash examples to what a great extent these linguistic data can contribute to our knowledge.

Finally the question may be raised : where did the Možars disappear and when did they stop speaking Hungarian? As to the former question, it is evident that they merged with the neighbouring peoples, the Chuvash, Tatars, and Russians. Možarovskij had already observed that the Chuvash of the Tetjuš district differ from other Chuvash in outlook and dialect.[65] This is a point, I think, which further research must take

[65] Možarovskij, *Trudy IV. Arch. Sъezda*, i 2, p. 19.

seriously : Hungarian traces in the languages and folklore of the Chuvash and certain Tatar groups of the Volga region must be investigated. The second question may be answered in brief. Drawing on analogous cases (*e.g.* the Cumanian language in Hungary) we may hazard the guess that at the time of the capture of Kazan', Hungarian must have been spoken among the Možars, and that it died out in the 17th century. This question, however, can be solved more precisely, and I should like to treat it, in more detail, at another time.

2. In treating the ethnonyms *Meščer* and *Mišer* which are frequently connected with the Hungarians, I think it more reasonable to commence research from the present, gradually proceeding to the past. The Meščers, or, in Russian, the Meščerjaks (with the suffix *-'ak*, *-ak* forming ethnonyms), are frequently mentioned in the Russian geographical and statistical literature of the past century. The Meščerjaks had two ethnically sharply distinguishable groups, one living in the Rjazan', Tambov, Penza, and Saratov territories, the other one partly inhabiting the same region and partly the Nižnij-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Kazan', Ufa, and Orenburg territories. The former, minor western group of the Meščerjaks is described as being a Russian ethnographical group, but it is apparent from the descriptions that they are a people of non-Russian origin, who have become Russians in the course of time. They dwelt mainly in the northern districts of the Rjazan' *gubernija*, particularly in the Spassk district, at the upper reaches of river Pra.[66] The territory stretching eastwards of the Middle Oka is called even today *Meščerskaja storona.*[67] This Meščer territory is covered by pine and birch forests, of great extension, and along the peaceful rivers (Buža, Pra, Kad', Gus', Polja, etc.) oak forests extend. It abounds in swamps and bogs (in Russian *mšara*, for which *see* above, p. 249 [p.15], which are inundated by the floods of rivers in spring. Lowland can be found only to the south of the Oka and to the north of it in a narrow belt.

Meščerjaks have lived in the Spassk district of the one-time Tambov *gubernija*, especially in the villages Kirilov, Sjademka, and Krasnaja Dubrova. The Russian dialect they speak and the folk costume of the women display certain characteristic features.[68]

[66] Vil'son, *Rjazanskaja gubernija. Sp. nas. mest*, p. XI; Semenov, *Geografičesko-statističeskij slovar' Rossijskoj Imperii*, iv, p. 374.

[67] Ščekatov, *Slovar' geografičeskij*, iv, pp. 243-245; Semenov, *Geogr.-stat. slov. Ros. Imp.*, iv, p. 372.

[68] I. I. Dubasov, *Očerki iz istorii Tambovskogo kraja*, i, Moscow, 1883, p.140; *Tambovskaja gub. Sp. nas. mest*, p. XXXVI.

Meščerjaks have lived in the one-time Penza *gubernija*, especially in the territory of the Krasnoslobodsk, Kerensk, and Čembar districts. According to statistical data of the past century, their number in the Penza *gubernija* was approximately 39,000,[69] and they lived scattered among Russians, Mordvins, and Tatars. Kievskij states that their language is similar to the Mordvin, but Russification is much stronger amongst them than amongst the Mordvins.[70] This remark of Kievskij is very interesting, because it may indicate that in the middle of the past century there may have been Meščerjaks who spoke a dialect very close to the Mordvin language. In the Penza *gubernija* the following settlements are described as Meščer :

Kerensk district : *Ušenka, Burtas, Šeino, Michajlovskoe, Kandevka, Bol'šoj Burtas, Or'evo, Kuzemkino, Alekseevka, Kozlovka, Samaricha, Vjazemka.* These places are situated along the tributaries of river Vad, Inžera, and Burtasa, and Or'jaja and Kandeevka, the tributaries of Vyša.[71] Along Šikšalejka and Burtasa, the tributaries of Vyša, and along Šarkaja and Ušennaja, the tributaries of Burtasa, there are 6 places, the so-called *Polumeščera : Kašaevka, Šičkilej, Saltykovo-Burtas, Novyj Malyj Burtas, Sofievka, Pjatnickaja.*[72]

Narovčat district : *Meščerina.*

Nižnij Lomov district : *Pustyn'.*

Čembar district : *Sintjapino, Dubovaja Veršina, Tjan'ga, Ira, Rastaši, Kamenka, Novaja Kulikovatova, Krepkaja, Ivanovka, Ekaterinovka, Arsunovka, Grjaznucha.* These places are situated along the Vorona and its tributaries, the Pojma and Iža, and along the Vyša and its tributaries, the Kulevajkaja and Tjan'gaja.[73]

In the north-western part of the one-time Saratov *gubernija*, in the Balašov and Serdobsk districts, there have been Meščerjaks too, but in a very small number.[74] They moved there from the Rjazan' territory, apparently through the Penza territory. They are completely Russified, and spoke Russian, only the typical head-dress of the women could

[69] Semenov, *Geogr.-stat. slov. Ross. Imp.*, iv, pp. 35-36. For a short description of their costume and religious ideas *see* V. Aunovskij, "Kratkij êtnografičeskij očerk Meščery", *Penzenskie gubernskie vedomosti* 1862, No. 24, pp. 100-103; No. 27, pp. 109-111; No. 28, pp. 115-119.

[70] M. S. Kievskij, *Pamjatnaja knižka Penzenskoj gubernii na 1864 god*, Penza, p. 18.

[71] *Penzenskaja gub. Sp. nas. mest*, p. XXVII.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. XXVII.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. XXVIII.

[74] Semenov, *Geogr.-stat. slov. Ros. Imp.*, iv, p. 480.

be observed at the end of the past century. The following places were inhabited by them :

Serdobsk district : *Staro-Meščerskoe* (*Archangel'skoe*), *Novo-Meščerskoe* (*Nikol'skoe, Sredniki*).

Balašov district : *Čirikovo, Knjazevka* (*Mokanovka*), *Mokrovka.*[75]

Thus, the Meščerjaks in the Rjazan', Tambov, Penza, and Saratov *gubernija*s are a completely Russified ethnic group, while there are Meščerjaks partly in these *gubernija*s, partly in the Nižnij-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Kazan', Ufa, and Orenburg *gubernija*s who are not identical with the Russified Meščers. They are also called Meščerjaks by the Russians, but they speak a Tatar dialect close to the Kazan Tatar dialects and are much more numerous than the Russified Meščerjaks. East of the Volga, especially in Bashkiria, they are newcomers, having arrived there in the 17th-18th centuries.[76] They call themselves simply Tatars, but the Kazan Tatars sharply distinguish them from themselves, calling them *Mišer*s, and this appellation took root in the Russian scholarly works from the end of the past century (*mišari*) alongside the older and commonly used *meščerjak.*[77] They will be called Mišers in the present article in order to distinguish them from the Russian Meščers.[78]

After this short survey of appellations and self-appellations we may proceed to investigate the historical connections of these groups. The Meščers are first mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle, but only in the so-called middle group of the Russian Annals. After the foundation of Kiev the Slavic tribes are enumerated, and then other tribes are given : "At the Belozero the Ves', at the Rostov lake the Merja, at the Kleščino lake also the Merja, along the Oka river where it pours into the Volga live the Muroma, with their own language, the *Meščera*, with their own language, the Mordva, with their own language."[79] In

[75] *Saratovskaja gub. Sp. nas. mest*, pp. XII-XIII.

[76] V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija Rossijskaja s samych drevnejšich vremen*, Spb., 1769, i/2, p. 287; I. G. Georgi, *Opisanie vsech obitajuščich v Rossijskom gosudarstve narodov*, ii, Spb., 1799, p. 109; P. Keppen, *Chronologičeskij ukazatel' materialov dlja istorii inorodcev Evropejskoj Rossii*, Spb., 1861, p. 360.

[77] Kievskij (*Pam. knižka Penz. gub. na 1864 g.*, p. 17) states that their self-appelation is *Myšar'*, *Myšir'*. These forms cannot be attested elsewhere.

[78] For short ethnographical and statistical descriptions of the Mišers *see* Georgi, *Opisanie narodov*, ii, pp. 109-110; V. M. Čeremšanskij, *Opisanie Orenburgskoj gubernii v chozjajstvenno-statističeskom, êtnografičeskom i promyšlennom otnošenijach*, Ufa, 1859, pp. 161-165; V. F. Piotrovskij –V. P. Nalimov, "Priural'e", *Velikaja Rossija*, ii, Moscow, 1912, pp. 193-196. Important study on the ethnography of the Mišers is the work of Muchamedova, *Tatary-mišari* (with a detailed bibliography on the Mišers : pp. 237-245).

[79] Pervaja Sofijskaja letopis' : "на Белеозере Весь, а на Ростовьскомъ озере

the older text of the *Povest'*, in the Laurentius and Ipatius manuscripts (*Lavrent'evskij spisok* and *Ipat'evskij spisok*), the name of the Meščera is lacking,[80] but it does not mean that it is necessarily a later interpolation. We must not forget that all manuscripts of the Primary Chronicle are later copies, and the oldest dated manuscript, the Laurentius copy, derives from 1377. The manuscripts of the middle group were executed in the 15th-16th centuries. Consequently an interpolation could have been done in the 14th century copies of the old group of the Annals, as a part of the Volga Hungarians, who are identical with the Meščers in Perényi's opinion, were present in the Rjazan' region already in the 1240s. But other examples, for instance that of the medieval Hungarian chronicles, may prove that important data may have been preserved in shorter, extracted texts of the chronicle which are lacking in an otherwise more complete and reliable copy. I think it is the same with *Meščera*. Russian sholars have also thought that it was the linguistic and cultural proximity with other Finno-Ugric tribes (Merja, Muroma, and Mordva) that contributed to the omission of the Meščera in certain groups of the Annals. Ilovajskij considers the Meščers as near relatives of the Meri; [81] Tatiščev, Korsakov, Mel'nikov and Koppen think of them as a branch of the Moksha-Mordvins.[82] Hence, we may accept the hypothesis that the Meščers are a one-time Volga Finno-Ugric ethnic group which became partly Russian partly Mordvin. They were situated between the Muroms and the Mordvins, along the Middle Oka and its tributaries,

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Меря а на Клещине озере Меря же, а по Оце по реце, где потече вь Волгу, седить Мурома, языкъ свои, *Мещера* свои язык, Мордва свои язык" (*PSRL* 1851[1], 5, p. 84; 1925[2], 5, p. 5). Disregarding minor stylistic and orthographical changes the same text can be found in the following Annals : Voskresenskaja letopis' (*PSRL* 1856[1], 7, p. 263), Letopis' Avraamki (*PSRL* 1889, 16, p. 35), Sokraščennyj letopisnyj svod 1493 goda (*PSRL* 1962, 27, p. 175), Sokr. let. svod 1493 goda (*PSRL* 1962, 27, p. 310), Načalo Moskovskogo letopisnogo svoda konca XV. v. po êrmitažskomu spisku (*PSRL* 1949, 25, p. 339), Tipografskaja letopis' (*PSRL* 1921, 24, p. 3), Chronograf redakcii 1512 goda (*PSRL* 1911, 22 i, p. 347), Vologodsko–Permskaja letopis' (*PSRL* 1959, 26, p. 12). In the Letopis' Avraamki in the part "O jazyšex" : "... 14, Меря, 15, Мордъва, 16, *Мещера*, 17, Муромъ, ..." (*PSRL* 1889, 16, p. 8).

[80] *PSRL* 1846, 1, p. 5.

[81] D. Ilovajskij, *Istorija Rjazanskogo knjažestva*, Moscow, 1858, p. 7. — It is interesting that in the Nikonskaja letopis', in the year 859, the *Merja* of the Lavrent'evskij spisok is substituted with *Meščera*.

[82] Tatiščev, *Ist. Ross*, ii, 356, n. 22; D. Korsakov, *Merja i Rostovskoe knjažestvo, Očerki iz istorii Rostovo – Suzdal'sko zemli* (Kazan', 1872), p. 22 and n. 49; P. I. Mel'nikov, "Očerki Mordvy", *Russkij Vestnik* 69 (1867), p. 504, n.; Keppen, *Chron. ukaz.*, p. 360.

in the present-day Rjazan' territory, before they came into contact with the Eastern Slavs.

Now the question arises : when did the Eastern Slavs reach this territory? The Middle Oka region was already inhabited in the neolithic age. This archaeological culture disappeared in the Bronze Age, and Finno-Ugric tribes appear.[83] The so-called Gorodeck culture flourished until the 5th-6th centuries A.D., although it survived in the subsequent two to three centuries. This culture was characterized by fortified settlements, called *gorodišče* in Russian. In the 5th century a new, open type of settlement becomes prevalent which is called the Rjazan' type. The flourishing of this archaeological complex falls in the 8th century; it is known mainly from burial sites. The numerous objects in the sites testify to the affluence of the people; the war implements may indicate their bellicosity. They were cattlebreeders, but agriculture was not unknown to them either. Mounted burial sites occur too, which is undeniably a nomadic effect. This is not surprising, as the Oka region was completely open to the south, and to the impact of the various nomadic peoples, Iranians and Turks, who could easily reach this territory.[84] It cannot be accidental that not far from Rjazan' a settlement called *Kazari* can be found, and Arabic coins of the Khazar period can be found in the Rjazan' territory in great number. Moreover, the Eastern Slavic tribes Severjane, Radimiči and Vjatiči paid tribute to the Khazars for a long time. The Eastern Slavic tribes have been gradually moving towards the East. This long process of colonization has taken place from two directions : from Novgorod along the Volga, and from the south-west, from Kiev. The Vjatiči first reached the Middle Oka region in the 9th century; they were the easternmost of the Slavic tribes. In the Russian Annals mention is made of the origin of the Vjatiči and the Radimiči : according to tribal traditions they occupied their tribal habitats much later than the other Slavic tribes; the memories of an eastward migration were alive amongst them even in the 11th century. It

[83] V. A. Gorodcov, "Drevnee naselenie Rjazanskoj oblasti", *Izv. Otd. Russk. Jaz. i Slov. Imp. Ak. Nauk* 13 iv (1909), p. 141.

[84] For the archaeology of the Middle Oka region *see* A. L. Mongajt, "Iz istorii naselenija bassejna srednego tečenija Oki v I tysjačeletii n.ê.", *Sov. Arch.* 178 (1953), pp. 151-189; A. P. Smirnov, *Očerki drevnej i srednevekovoj istorii narodov Srednego Povolž'ja i Prikam'ja*, Moscow, 1952 (*MIA* 28), passim; V. A. Gorodcov, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-150; P. P. Efimenko, "Rjazanskie mogil'niki, Opyt kul'turno-stratigrafičeskogo analiza mogil'nikov massovogo tipa", *Mat. po êtnografii* 3 i (Leningrad, 1926), pp. 59-84; A. V. Selivanov, "O drevnejšem naselenii Priokskogo rajona predšestvovavšem slavjanskoj kolonizacii", *Trudy 3-go oblastnogo ist.-arch. sъezda v g. Vladimire 1906 g.*, p. 1; A. Čerepnin, *Trudy Rjazanskoj Uč. Arch. Kom. za 1903 g.* 18 ii (1904), pp. 198-200.

is difficult to determine the borderline between the Meščers and their new neighbours, the Vjatiči. The Vjatiči settlements may have reached the river Lopasnja in the North and the upper reaches of the Don in the East.[85] It is equally difficult to establish the beginning of Vjatiči infiltration into Meščera. A. Smirnov supposes an unjustifiable early date, the 4th-6th centuries; [86] Čerepnin's date, the 10th century, is too late.[87] According to Mongajt, Slavic settlements have been gradually formed side by side with the autochthonous settlements in the 9th-10th centuries.[88] Thus the Slavic infiltration must have begun in the 9th century, although one cannot exclude the possibility that it had commenced somewhat earlier. With the Vjatiči expansion, the bearers of the Rjazan' complex who are most probably the Meščers, disappear from that area.

The fact that the Finno-Ugric aboriginal population disappeared in the 9th century (judging from the evidence of archaeology), and that the tribal name *Meščer* is very similar to the Hungarian tribal name *Megyer*, encouraged I. Boba to see Hungarians in the Meščers who 'evacuated' the Rjazan' territory in *ca.* 830 A.D., leaving it for the Don–Dnieper region.[89] This tribal movement, according to Boba, must have been brought forth by the appearance of the Normans in Eastern Europe. The idea itself that the Hungarians migrated along the Oka towards the Don is not a brand new one. On the one hand, the Suzdal–Kiev route is mentioned in the medieval Hungarian chronicles; on the other this supposition was not unknown in the Russian works of the past century.[90] The possibility of this route is not excluded, but the identification of the Meščers with the Hungarians of the 9th century is a supposition which cannot be accepted. First, our present knowledge contradicts this view : it is hardly possible to reckon with an Ugric group, the Pre-Hungarians, in the Middle Oka region, in the company of Volga Finno-Ugric peoples. How could they get there and when? Boba does not answer these questions and I cannot do so either. Secondly, the identification of the ethnonyms *Meščer* and *Megyer* are aggravated by facts of a phonetic nature which will be treated in detail further below. Thirdly, the Meščers do not disappear in simply any direction; they can be traced in their migration. Slavic waves from the South-West could push the aboriginal

[85] Ilovajskij, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[86] A. P. Smirnov, *Očerki*, p. 142.
[87] Čerepnin, *Trudy Rjaz. Arch. Kom.* 18 ii (1904), pp. 199-200.
[88] Mongajt, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
[89] Boba, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-101.
[90] A. Ja. Grot, *Moravija i Mad'jary*, Spb., 1881, pp. 211-212.

Meščers only in certain directions. They could, in part, withdraw to the dense forests in the North, where numerous geographical names preserve their memory in the four northern districts of the Rjazan' territory, or they might have retired along the rivers Mokša, Vad, and Cna in a south-western and southern direction.[91] As was seen above, in this region, in the Tambov and Penza territories, several thousand Meščers lived at the end of the past century, who were already completely Russified by that time. The toponyms of the Meščer territories, especially those of the Oka region, display a Finno-Ugric character, disregarding the evidently Slavic layer of names. Hungarian traces cannot be observed. Without delving into this question which would exceed the scope of this paper, I refer to some of these toponyms. Their investigation awaits the Finno-Ugrists : *Čarus, Peksely, Myscy, Iberdus, Erachtur, Činur, Narmušad', Narma, Svinčus, Mil'čus, Ilemniki, Mutorka, Vykuša Lamša, Anemnjasevo, Veščur, Čufilovo, Narmoč', Jalmont.* Some of the hydronyms are : *Narma, Kurša, Uvjas, Syntul, Ninur, Dardur, Sentur, Pincul.*[92] At any rate it is evident that we have to do mainly with Finno-Ugric names; Hungarian is excluded.

The borderland between the Merja and Mordva was the *Meščerskaja storona.* This is clearly demonstrated by the toponyms. The borderline between the toponyms of Meri (*i.e.* Cheremis) and Mordvin character runs between the southern part of the Vladimir *gubernija* and the northern part of the Rjazan' *gubernija.* This Meščer territory around Rjazan', Jegor'evsk, Pokrov, Sudogda, Melenki, and Kasimov is an impenetrable, swampy, boggy area. The Tatars could not march from Rjazan' directly to Vladimir, but they had to go around the Meščer territory, either from the right, in the direction of Kasimov and Murom, or from the left, in the direction of Kolomna and Moscow. The Tatars generally chose the Murom route.[93] At any rate, a thorough investigation of geographical names in Meščera will determine whether toponyms of Meri or Mordvin origin are dominant.

Besides toponyms of Meščer origin, a lot of toponyms containing the element *Meščer* are known. The following hydronyms are known : 1. *Meščerka,* tributary of the Voronež (Usman dis., Tambov gub.);

[91] *See* Smirnov (*Mordva,* p. 29) and A. Chvoščev (*Očerki po istorii Penzenskogo kraja,* Penza, 1922, pp. 18-199).

[92] A. Mansurov, "K voprosu o drevnem naselenii Meščerskogo kraja", *Trudy Rjazanskoj Uč. Arch. Kom.* 12 i (1897), pp. 96-97.

[93] S. F. Platonov, *Prošloe russkogo severa,* Berlin, 1924, p. 32; Vasmer, *Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde,* i, pp. 411-412.

2. *Meščerskoe*, lake on the left bank of Oka (Rjazan' dis., Rjazan' gub.); 3. *Meščerskoe*, lake (Nižnij-Novgorod dis., Nižnij-Novgorod gub.); 4. *Meščerskoe* (Krugloe), lake not far from Lob' and Lama (Volokolamsk dis., Moscow gub.); 5. *Meščerskaja Zavod*,' a bay of the Oka at Gorbatov (Gorbatov dis., Nižnij-Novgorod gub.); 6. *Mežer-Sirma*, a river near Kubnja (Cyvil'sk dis., Kazan' gub.) (M. Vasmer, *Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässernamen*, iii, pp. 245, 268, and ii, p. 544).

The following place-names preserve the element *Meščer* :

Gubernija of Rjazan'

District of Egor'evsk :
Meščerka (Zaovraž'e) (1063; 10 m., 13 w.)
District of Michajlov :
Meščerskie vyselki (Gladkie) (1961; 773 m., 730 w.)

Gubernija of Vladimir

District of Vladimir :
Meščery (236; 32 m., 29 w.)
Bykovka (*Meščerjagino*) (269; 50 m., 60 w.)
Meščera (358; 154 m., 152 w.)
District of Gorochovec :
Meščerki (1761; 46 m., 48 w.)
District of Murom :
Meščery (3492; 109 m., 125 w.)
District of Jur'ev :
Meščerka (6144; 49 m., 48 w.)

Gubernija of Tula

District of Tula :
Meščerskoe (272; 90 m., 111 w.)
Meščerskie vyselki (273; 32 m., 39 w.)
District of Venev :
Andreevka (*Meščerki*) (1362; 54 m., 46 w.)
District of Efremov :
Zverinec (*Meščerka*) (1877; 57 m., 59 w.)
Bogorodickoe (*Meščerskoe*) (1960; 234 m., 242 w.)
District of Kašira :
Meščerinovo (2438; 42 m., 37 w.)

28

District of Čern' :
Rožestvino (*Meščerino*) (3859; 335 m., 359 w.)

Gubernija of Tambov

District of Usman :
Meščerka (Pisareva) (2710; 5 m., 4 w.)
Meščerka (*Meščerskij Lipjazok*) (2711; 6 m., 5 w.)
District of Lipeck :
Aleksandrovka (*Meščerjaki*) (2010; 46 m., 48 w.)

Gubernija of Penza

District of Narovčat :
Nikol'skaja, *Meščerina* (*Meščerskaja*) (1220; 49 m., 65 w.)
Meščerskoe (Nikol'skoe, Jermolaevka) (1204; 67 m., 70 w.)
District of Nižnij Lomov :
Pokrovskaja Varmika (*Meščerskoe*) (1391: 648 m., 712 w.)

Gubernija of Nižnij Novgorod

District of Gorbatov :
Meščerskie gory (1954; 36 m., 33 w.)
Meščera (1958; 133 m., 154 w.)

Gubernija of Simbirsk

District of Buinsk :
Bajbulatovo (*Meščerjaki*) (678; 275 m., 282 w.)

Gubernija of Kazan'

District of Kozmodem'jansk :
Mižar (526; 65 m., 85 w.)
Mižary (722; 94 m., 96 w.)
District of Cyvil'sk :
Tokaeva (*Miser'*) (2740; 231 m., 245 w.)
District of Spassk :
Meščerinovka (1688; 74 m., 90 w.)

Gubernija of Ufa

District of Ufa :
Verchnie *Meščerjakskie* Termy (82; 431 m., 415 w.)

District of Belebej :
Meščereva (796; 65 m., 35 w.)
District of Birsk :
Meščerova (1086; 246 m., 204 w.)
District of Zlatoust :
Staraja *Meščerova* (Tungatarova) (1786; 36 m., 42 w.)

Gubernija of Vjatka

District of Jelabuga :
Meščerjakovo (Roždestvenskoe) (3645; 69 m., 81 w.)
District of Jaransk :
Meščerjakov (1993; 18 m., 12 w.)

Gubernija of Perm

District of Osa :
Zipunova (*Meščerjakova*) (4181; 152 m., 171 w.)

Disregarding now the eastern spread of these names, we can observe their spread in the North-Northwest, in the *gubernija*s of Vladimir and Tula. But, of course, far-reaching consequences cannot be drawn from these data, because these names indicate only the scattering of the Meščers. A place-name is called *Meščer* only when the settlement is among foreign, *i.e.*, non-Meščer settlements. Hence, these place-names refer only to split off grouping of the Meščers.

But it is time to return to the history of the Meščer land and people. In the 9th century they were pushed out from their original home-land by the Vjatiči. At the end of the 9th century (884-885) the Severjane and Radimiči were compelled to pay tribute to Kiev instead of to the Khazars. Prince Svjatoslav reached the Vjatiči only in the 10th century in 966, and made them taxpayers of Kiev. The year before he conquered Bela Veža, and the long Khazar hegemony in South-eastern Europe was once and for all over. ... With the subjection of the Vjatiči, the middle and lower reaches of the Oka fell under Russian control. In the 11th century Russian expansion stopped for a while at the confluence of Oka and Volga, because the Russians were confronted with the strong Volga Bulgarian State. One part of the Meščers evidently remained in the Middle Oka region, which belonged to the appanage principality (*udel'noe knjažestvo*) of Rjazan'. The other part of them must have lived along the Cna and Mokša, between the borderline of the Russian and Bulgarian political spheres, but rather under Russian influence.

30

1236, the year of the fall of the Volga Bulgarian Empire, is a turning point in the history of the peoples living near the Volga. With the Mongol invasion the old Kumano-Kipchak population is organized by the Mongols and named henceforth Tatar. The peoples of the Volga and Oka regions are united in the body of the Golden Horde. An intensive flood of the Tatars to the West begins. The Širin princes separated from the Great Horde in 1298, and one of them, Bachmet, son of Husejn, came to Meščera, took it by force of arms and settled down there. This event is related in the genealogy of the Meščer princes on the basis of family traditions: "In the year 6706 (1298) the Širin prince Bachmet, son of Usejn, came to Meščera from the Great Horde, and conquered Meščera and settled down there, and his son Beklemiš was born in Meščera. And Beklemiš was baptized and [was given] the name Prince Michael in the baptism, and in Andreev gorodok he erected the church of the Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ, and together with himself a great many people were baptized."[94] In the very beginning of the 14th century a new appanage principality came into being in Meščera. The ruling dynasty was of Tatar origin, but soon (as early as the second generation) became Christian, thereby evidently giving way to Russian influence. Beside Michail Bachmetovič (alias Beklemiš), other local princes existed, who took hold of other parts of Meščera. So the territory of Meščera was divided among the Grand Duchy of Rjazan', the Duchy of Meščera founded by Bachmet, and one or more duchies of local, Meščer origin. Several local dukes are known in the tradition,[95] but historically only Aleksandr Ukovič can be attested, whose name occurs in *diplomas* together with Dmitrij Donskoj, hence he must have reigned in the 1360s. The name of Aleksandr Ukovič shows that he must have been a Christian son of a pagan father. This also means that in the course of the 14th century Christian missions were active amongst the local Meščer population. Aleksandr Ukovič must have reigned between the Oka and Cna part of the Meščer territory. His name occurs in numerous treaties of the 15th century contracted between the Grand Dukes of Moscow and the Grand Dukes of

[94] *Rodoslovnaja kniga knjazej i dvorjan rossijskich i vyezžich*, Moscow, 1787, ii, p. 239. Though the 'Rodoslovnaja kniga' was compiled in the 16th century, and to be a nobleman of Tatar origin became 'fashionable' at that time, there can be no doubt concerning the event related in the 'Rodoslovnaja kniga'. As for the date of the settlement of the Širin princes in Meščera, 1198 is given, which is evidently an error; it is generally emended to 1298.

[95] M. I. Smirnov, "O knjaz'jach Meščerskich XII-XV v.v.", *Trudy Rjazanskoj Uč. Arch. Kom. za 1903 g.* 18 ii (1904), p. 173.

Rjazan'. In these *diplomas* the borderline of Meščera and the Rjazan' territory is fixed as it was determined at the time of Ioann Jaroslavič Grand Duke of Rjazan' and Duke Aleksandr Ukovič. The Grand Duchy of Rjazan' endeavoured to buy lands from the minor Meščer dukes who were unable to pay their tribute to the Golden Horde. From the second half of the 14th century onwards, these efforts of Rjazan' were frustrated by a similar expansion of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. In 1402, *ca.* 1433, 1447, and 1483 mention is made of the Meščer places (*Meščerskaja mesta*) which were bought by Oleg Ivanovič, Grand Duke of Rjazan' and his successors. The borderline between Meščera and Rjazan' is fixed as follows : "... and the parts pertaining to Meščera according to the old [habit], and the borderline of the Meščer lands [be] as it was at the time of Grand Duke Ivan Jaroslavič and Aleksandr Ukovič".[96] Thus, the Grand Duchy of Moscow gradually became adjacent to the ever weakening Grand Duchy of Rjazan'. Although the Meščer Duchy of the Bachmet-dynasty was still standing, it had come under the ever growing influence of Moscow. Jurij Fedorovič, Duke of Meščera, took part in the battle of Kulikovo in 1380 in support of Moscow, and he was killed there.[97]

Soon after Kulikovo the warriors of Vjatka, Novgorod, and Ustjug descended on the Volga and devastated Kazan'. Grand Duke Vasilij Dmitrievič, son and successor of Dmitrij Donskoj, therefore went to Saray, the capital of the Golden Horde, in 1392 to conciliate Toktamyš khan. Toktamyš accepted him very cordially, because he was in trouble owing to Timur's attack. Vasilij promised to send the Khan troops if necessary, and was rewarded with the towns of Nižnij Novgorod, Gorodec, Meščera, Torusa, and Murom.[98] Here Meščera is the name of a town; it is the later Kasimov and was the capital of the Meščer Duchy founded by Bachmet. With this grant of Toktamyš, the whole Meščer land, Meščera became part of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. The Meščer dukes became service dukes (*područnye* or *služilye knjaz'ja*) subject to the Grand Duke of Moscow. For about one hundred years they were independent with respect to the internal affairs of the duchy, but from the end of the 15th century onwards the Meščer dukes, who

[96] *Sobr. gos. gramot i dog.* i, No. 36 (p. 66), No. 48 (p. 98), No. 65 (pp. 144-145), No. 115 (p. 282), No. 116 (p. 285).

[97] M. I. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-179. For the genealogy of the Bachmet-dynasty *see, ibid.*, p. 197.

[98] *PSRL* 27, pp. 88, 258, and 336; 25, p. 219; 17, p. 45; 21, p. 92; 20 i, p. 210; 26, p. 164; 24, p. 159; 23, pp. 132-133.

must have been completely Russified by that time, moved to Moscow, while some of them took refuge in Lithuania.[99] These Meščer dukes (*Meščerskie knjaz'ja*) were present in the Russian service gentry until the revolution of 1917. Meščer dukes can be found in Moscow as early as 1483. This is attested by a treaty between the grand dukes of Moscow and Rjazan' : "And you must not receive our Meščer dukes who live in Meščera and with us the grand duke; ..." [100]

In the middle of the 15th century an important event took place in Meščera, this stormy land stretching between the Russians and the Tatars. In *ca.* 1452 a new duchy was formed in Meščera. In 1446, not long after the collapse of the Golden Horde, Kasim and his brother Jakub, sons of Ulug Muhammed, founder of the Khanate of Kazan', fled to the Grand Duke of Moscow from their brother Mahmutek, and served the Grand Duke for six years. In 1452 Kasim was granted with the town Meščera or Meščerskij gorodok or Gorodec, and this act meant the formation of a new vassal state of Moscow. Until 1552, the capture of Kazan', it played a prominent part as a buffer state. It defended the Russians from Tatar inroads, and in addition the Russians could always shift the responsibility for the fight against the Kazan' Tatars upon the Kasimov Tatars. At any moment the Russians could send a pretender to the throne of Kazan'. Meščerskij gorodok became the Kasimov Khanate, after the name of the founder of the dynasty.[101]

The Khanate of Kasimov became a very turbulent place for a hundred years, as it was the marching terrain of Muscovy against Kazan'.The Tatars of Kazan' would overrun this territory, and the Tatars of Kasimov and the Russians would stage a counter attack. The decades preceding the siege of Kazan' are especially full of collisions. From the 15th century onwards the outposts of the Meščer territory, the Russian fortresses, gradually appeared. This system of fortresses, the function of which was to protect Russia from the Tatar inroads and skirmishes, was fully organized in the 17th century. The line of fortresses was called *Meščerskaja čerta* or *Meščerskie storoži.* In 1525 Alatyr was built; in 1535-1536 the fortress of Mokšan was founded on the place of an old Meščer settlement called Runza.[102] In 1533 Safa-Girej, Khan of Kazan', made

[99] M. I. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189.

[100] *Sobr. gos. gram. i dog.*, i, No. 115 (p. 282), No. 116 (p. 285).

[101] For the formation and role of the Khanate of Kasimov *see* V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskich carjach i carevičach*, i, Moscow, 1863, pp. 184-185; Grekov–Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie*, pp. 418-419.

[102] *PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 435. *See* also Karamzin, *Ist. Ross.*, viii, pp. 41 and 324, n. 66; Chochrjakov, *Trudy Penz. Uč. Arch. Kom.* 1 (1903), p. 24.

a raid on Meščera and Kasimov gorodok.[103] In 1536 the voevodes of the Grand Duke of Moscow set out for their attack against the Tatars and returned there.[104] In 1537 the Tatars of Kazan' attacked, and the Grand Duke sent his voevodes to Vladimir and Meščera, then ordered them to march to Murom.[105] In 1539-1540 the Tatars of Kazan' devastated Nižnij Novgorod, Murom, Meščera, and Gorochovec.[106] In 1541 the Grand Duke sent a message to Šigalej in Kasimov gorodok, and ordered him to support him with arms.[107] In the winter of 1546 the Tsar went to Nižnij Novgorod, while Šigalej and the voevodes of the Tsar left Meščera for Kazan'. In the same winter, the Rjazan' territory (*Rezanskie mesta*) was attacked by Košaj murza with his 5,000 Nogays from the South. The Tsar directed his voevodes from Meščera to the Nogays. The Crimean Tatars also invaded the Meščer land : according to the Annals Michajlo Ivanov defeated the Crimeans on the Meščer borderline (*na Meščerskoj ukrajne*).[108] In 1548 Šigalej participated again in the Russian attack against Kazan'.[109] In 1549 Prince Enbars was sent to the Crimean khan, Šap-Girej, from the Tatars of Kazan'. But the Meščer Kozaks of the Tsar (*Meščerskie kozaki*), one called Urak and his companions, caught the envoy of Kazan' at the mouth of the river Medvedica, and took his yarliks.[110] In 1550 the Tsar marched to Kolomna, then to Rjazan' against the Crimean Khan Šap-Girej, while Šap-Girej sent the princes of Širin to Meščera.[111] In 1551 a new Noghay attack came from the south against the Meščer places, but the voevodes of Rjazan' and Meščera repulsed it.[112] In 1552 the Russians were successful at last, they captured Kazan'. The Khan of Kasimov was awarded for his merits by the Tsar : "... and what was asked for by Šigalej from the sovereign, many villages, [the Tsar] granted him all".[113]

As can be seen, Meščera was the scene of unceasing struggles until the capture of Kazan'. At that time Meščera was a geographical term; its political centre was Meščerskij gorodok or Kasimov gorodok. Today

[103] *PSRL* 1911, 22 i, p. 522.
[104] *PSRL* 1914, 22 ii, p. 436.
[105] *PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 442.
[106] *PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 451.
[107] *PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 456.
[108] *PSRL* 1911, 22 i, p. 528.
[109] *PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 473.
[110] *PSRL* 1911, 22 i, p. 529.
[111] *PSRL* 1911, 22 i, p. 531.
[112] *PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 478.
[113] *PSRL* 1914, 20 ii, p. 499.

only the territory to the North of Rjazan' is called *Meščerskij kraj, Meščerskaja storona.*

Now we can turn our attention to the population in Meščera : who were the inhabitants of this land ? The Meščer aborigines (perhaps already completely Russified) must have lived in the northwestern part of Meščera, in the Rjazan' and Vladimir regions, while near Kasimov and east of it, along the Meščer fortresses, Meščers, Tatars, Mordvins, and Russians dwelt. We cannot state with any certainty whether the Meščers preserved their ethnic distinctiveness in the 14th-15th centuries along the rivers Cna, Vad, and Mokša, but living on the territory of the Mokša-Mordvins they must have been totally absorbed by them. At any rate, it is very important to remark that Prince Kurbskij, in his description of the campaign of Kazan', relates that first they crossed the Rjazan' territory, then the Meščer land where the Mordvin language was spoken.[114] Furthermore, he remarks that in the Khanate of Kazan' five languages, besides Tatar, are in use : Mordvin, Chuvash, Cheremis, Votyak or Ari, and Bashkir.[115] Naturally this report does not exclude the possibility that other minor Finno-Ugric and Turkic tribes may have lived there and have spoken their own idioms. *Ex silentio non est argumentum.* Just before the siege of Kazan' we could see the Možars, who proved to be the descendants of the Volga Hungarians.

After the capture of Kazan' the role of Kasimov became greatly reduced, but it survived as a satellite state of Moscow for more than a century, and the Tatar population survived even the fall of the Khanate of Kasimov. The registers of the 15th-17th centuries contain the names of the Meščer towns. In 1617 they are as follows : Šack, Kasimov, Kadom, Temnikov, Arzamas, Kurmyš, Alatyr.[116] These Meščer towns were settled by Tatars, who were referred to in the Russian Annals as *meščerskich gorodov murzy i tatarov'ja.*[117] They came from Temnikov and other towns in the west to the new fortifications. The land-registers of the 17th century enable us to gain an insight into the distribution of population in Meščera. The dominant element is undoubtedly the Tatar; besides them Meščers and Russians can be found. *E.g.* according to the data of the *perepisnye knigi* of 1678 in the district of Temnikov

[114] "чрезъ Рязанскую землю и потомъ чрезъ Мещерскую, идеже есть Мордовский языкъ" (*Skazanie Knjaz'ja Kurbskogo*, Spb., 1868³, p. 54).

[115] *Skaz. Knjaz'ja Kurbskogo*, p. 34.

[116] *Razrjadnye knigi*, i, p. 450 (*apud* F. F. Čekalin, *Saratovskoe Povolž'e s drevnejšich vremen do konca XVII veka*, Saratov, 1892, pp. 21-22).

[117] *PSRL* 1968, 31, p. 160.

the Meščers had 15 households, the baptized Tatars had 46 households, the murzas and Tatars had 1061 households; in the district of Kadom the Meščers and baptized Tatars possessed 46 households, the murzas and Tatars had 642 households.[118] In the registers of the same year in the village Vjarveli (south of Temnikov) several murzas are given as the owners of the village, and only one Meščer (*Meščerenin*), called Stepan Merlin, is mentioned.[119] In Kamennyj Brod there were 43 peasant and serf households whose proprietors were murzas and princes from Kadom : the Tuguševs, Tokšeikovs, Kuguševs, and Bibars.[120] Numerous examples could be brought forth, all of which prove that in the middle of the 17th century the Tatar population was very significant in the Meščer towns and their vicinity. It is of particular importance that the term *Meščerenin* occurs as an ethnonym; this may indicate that the local Meščer population must have existed at that time, although their Russification was perhaps completed (the Meščer person in question *e.g.* bears a Russian name).

In the 17th century a great eastward migration can be observed. Russian and non-Russian peasants set out to the east to occupy new uninhabited lands, thereby avoiding paying taxes to the Russian state. Thus the name *Meščerjak* crops up on the left bank of the Volga in the Ufa region in the 17th century for the first time. In the medieval Russian sources *Meščera* is a geographical term; it is the name of a territory where the Meščers lived. In the 17th century the name *Meščerenin* occurred, which is the designation of a Meščer man. The form *Meščerjak* is an ethnonym formed from the name of the territory (*i.e.*, *Meščera*). These forms do not contain any hint as to the nationality of its bearer, *e.g.* the form *Sibirjak* is a man from Siberia, independently of his origin; he may equally be a Russian or a Chukchi. At the same time, if this man of Siberian origin moves to Moscow, he becomes a *Moskvič* too (*i.e.* a man from Moscow), but remains a *Sibirjak* as well. So the term *Meščerjak* could be best rendered as 'a man of Meščera'. The evidence

[118] District of Temnikov : "за *Мещерены* 15 дв., за Новокрещены 46 дв., за Мурзы и татары 1061 дв.", district of Kadom : "за *Мещерены* и Новокрещены 46 дв., за мурзы и татары 642 дв." (*Dopolnenie k aktam istoričeskim*, xiii, p. 129, *apud* M. I. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, 187, n.).

[119] "... За *Мещереномъ* за Степаномъ Петровымъ с сыномъ Мерлинымъ дв. крестьянской и дв. бобыльской" (Переписные книги 6457, л. об. III 114). *See* V. and G. Cholmogorov, *Materialy dlja istorii, statistiki i archeologii goroda Temnikova i ego uezda XVII i XVIII st.* (*Temnikovskaja desjatina*), Tambov, 1890, pp. 42-43 (= *Priloženie k Izvestijam Tambovskoj Archivnoj Kommissii*).

[120] Perepisnye knigi 6457, l. 213 (V. and G. Cholmogorov, *Materialy*, p. 21).

of historical data unanimously bear out the contention that the Meščerjaks of Ufa came from the Alatyr and Simbirsk districts in the 1680s.[121] They had to pay taxes for the leasing of lands, and were obliged to serve in Ufa together with the gentry and the foreigners there.[122] In the Pugačov uprising, they supported the Russian forces against the Bashkir rebels, and afterwards they were rewarded for their fidelity to the Tsar with the lands they had been leasing from the Bashkirs.[123] So it can be maintained that the Meščerjaks, who were the Tatars of the Meščer region and the fortifications, set out for the Volga and beyond it, to Bashkiria, in great numbers in the last third of the 17th century. They are the Mišers or Mišer-Tatars of today. This process of migration must have been strengthened by the fact that Christianization spread rapidly and the Khanate of Kasimov ceased to exist at that time.

We now come to the question of the origin of the Mišers. The historical data lead to certain conclusions. Some Russian scholars, Vel'jaminov-Zernov, Možarovskij, etc., thought that the Mišers were simply the Turkicized successors of the Meščers. Achmarov was the first to state — and basically he was right — that the Mišers are Tatars of the Golden Horde, and only their name refers to the Meščers, since the Tatars of Meščera who migrated to the east were called by other Tatars after the name of the region from which they had arrived.[124] Achmarov gives examples of the Tatar practice of calling themselves or the surrounding peoples after the name of the region or town they live in : *e.g.* the Russians are called *Moskov*, the Mišers of Nižnij Novgorod call the Kazan Tatars *Kazan*. The Mišer murzas of Ufa have been called *Tömän*, as they had moved from Temnikov (Tömän) to Ufa. Similarly, the appellation *Mišer* must have been given to the Tatars of Meščera. Recent ethnographical and linguistic research has also proved that the Mišers are the close relatives of the Kazan Tatars and consequently they must be regarded primarily as Tatars. It must be taken into consideration that the characteristic features of the Mišer groups were being formed in the course of the migrations of the 17th-18th centuries. Today, they live in small but compact groups on both sides of the Volga. They are scattered over an immense territory. Each Mišer group has been influenced, to a different

[121] P. Ryčkov, *Topografija Orenburgskaja*, i, Spb., 1762, pp. 101-102.

[122] Ryčkov, *Top. Or.*, i, pp. 101-102; Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Kas. car.*, i, pp. 31-32.

[123] Ryčkov, *op. cit.*, i, p. 102.

[124] G. N. Achmarov, "O jazyke i narodnosti mišarej", *Izv. Obšč .Arch. Ist. Êtn. Kaz. Univ.* 19 (1903), pp. 91-160. — Achmarov's article is reviewed in *FUF* 8 (1908), p. 22, and Piotrovskij–Nalimov, *Priural'e*, p. 194.

degree, by the culture of the neighbouring peoples, the Chuvash, the Mordvin, and the Russians; consequently each Mišer group is characterized by a special mixture of Tatar and local elements. In this respect the possibility cannot be excluded that the Finno-Ugric Meščers have been absorbed by the Mišer-Tatars, but the final word on this subject can be pronounced only after a thorough analysis of the ethnography and dialects of the Mišer groups. Likewise, another possibility cannot be excluded either : in certain Mišer groups Možar sub-groupings may be suspected. According to Muchamedova, two Mišer groups, those of Temnikov and Sergač, are sharply distinguished by certain Finno-Ugric features which are not present in other Mišer-Tatar groups.[125] Strangely enough, these two Tatar groups are situated where the two major groups of the *Možar* place-names are found. Here again, only further investigation can corroborate or reject this idea.

After treating the historical and ethnographical data, we may now proceed to the linguistic explanation of the ethnonyms *Meščer* and *Mišer*. The ethnonym *Meščer* renders the self-appellation of a Volga Finno-Ugric tribe, but the name itself is known only from Russian sources. What can a Cyrillic *щ* stand for? In Russian originally it denoted *šč*, but from the 14th century on an *šš* variant has also existed, which is the common pronunciation of *щ* in present-day literary Russian. At the same time the pronunciation of *жс, ш,* and *ц* became velar in the 14th century. So, the letter *щ* in the 14th century or later can render *šč* or *š* of a foreign language. Thus, an original **Meščer* or **Mešer* form can be assumed. It is not my task to find an etymology for this word. Mikkola explains it from a Mordvin dialectal word **mešKär* 'Bienenzüchter', a derivative of *mekš, meš* 'bee'.[126] This explanation is not quite impossible, especially if we presume a form like **Mešer*, **Mešer*, as our starting point (the form *meš* does, indeed, exist in Moksha : *ks* > *š*); moreover the weight of the historical data forces us to think of the Meščer were a tribe near the Mokshas. The second component of the word is either a formant (*-er*) [127] or a separate word, as in the second element of the ethnonym *Magyar*.[128] In Mikkola's opinion, in Jordanes' work, in the enumeration of the northern peoples conquered by the

[125] Muchamedova, *Tatary-mišari*, p. 17.

[126] J. J. Mikkola, "Die Namen der Völker Hermanarichs", *FUF* 15 (1915), p. 62.

[127] The denominal formant *-r* can be found in nearly all Finno-Ugric languages; *see* D. Bartha K., *A magyar szóképzés története*, Budapest, 1958, pp. 108-109.

[128] T. I. Tepljašina's etymology of the word *Mišer* (*Êtnonim* besermjane : *Êtnonimy*, Moscow, 1970, p. 186), which she connects with *Beser* (man), must be rejected.

Gothic king Hermanarich, the Meščers occur near Merja and Mordva : *Merens*, *Mordens*, *Imniscàris* (or *Imniscans*). We may, indeed, expect Meščera to be near Merja and Mordva, but the rather corrupt form warns us to accept this identification with reservations. To sum up what has been said so far, it is probable that the name *Meščer* can be explained on the basis of Mordvin. In addition, the following data indicate that the Meščers must have been a tribe close to the Mordvins : 1. the place-names of Meščera are of a Volga Finno-Ugric character; 2. most of them lived together with the Moksha-Mordvins in the region of the rivers Cna, Vad, and Mokša; 3. their language is either mistaken for Mordvin (*see* Kurbskij's remark) or is stated to be a dialect akin to Mordvin (*see* Aunovskij's remark).

Now, how can the form *Mišer* be explained? From the Russian pronunciation *Meš(š)er* and the local pronunciation *Mešer*, *Mešer* a Tatar form **Mešer* could evolve. The change of a word with the vocalism *e-e* into *i-e*, *i-ä*, or even *i-a*, is not infrequent in the Kipchak languages. This explanation of the vocalism of the word *Mišer* was first suggested by Radloff,[129] and the process of this change has been nicely described by J. Németh.[130] I shall give here only two of the numerous examples : *Gerey* > *Giray*, *kermen* > *kirman*, etc.

So far we have established that the Možars cannot simply be identified with the Meščers and the Mišers. Moreover, it has become apparent that the Možars are the successors of the Volga Hungarians, whose name (*Magyar*) is identical with that of the Možars. I think that the Hungarians (Magyars) not only historically, but even linguistically cannot be identified with the Meščers and the Mišers. In the past century Russian scholars, Vel'jaminov-Zernov, Radloff, Čekalin and Artem'ev[131] among others, already tried to treat the Možars, Meščers, Mišers as different forms of the same name and people. The Hungarians (Magyars) have not been connected to these peoples by them; [132] Munkácsi was the first to do so, and Hungarian scholars have repeated his conclusions since then. Among the Soviet researchers, Kuftin and Tolstov were the

[129] V. V. Radlov *apud* Možarovskij, *Trudy IV. Arch. Sъezda*, i 2, p. 17, n. 1.

[130] J. Németh, "Zu den e-Lauten im Türkischen, *Studia Orientalia* 18 xiv (Helsinki, 1964), pp. 8-19.

[131] Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Kas. car.*, i, pp. 30-31; Radlov *apud* Možarovskij, *Trudy IV. Arch. Sъezda*, i 2, p. 14, n. 1; Artem'ev, *Kazan. gub. Sp. nas. mest*, p. LXXIII.

[132] Though Čekalin (*Saratovskoe Povolž'e*, p. 22) connects the *Mazars* of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus to these names, it has been long established that this form is a mere corruption of *Xazar*, and has nothing to do with the Hungarians.

first to connect the Hungarians to this complex of questions.[133] Now I would like to speak of the linguistic difficulties of the *Megyer* = *Mišer* identity.

J. Németh supposes the following development: Hung. *Megyer* > Bashk. *Meǰer* > *Mežer* > *Mižer* > *Mišer* > *Mišar*.[134] Ligeti also thinks that in a Turkic language where a - *ǰ* - > - *š* - change exists the form *Meǰer* could develop into *Mišer*. But he adds cautiously: "The history of the Volga Turkic langugages is unfortunately too little known, so this supposition is not worthy of consideration".[135] Németh was also aware of the difficulties of a development *ž* > *š* in Turkic, so he operated with a whole line of complicated suppositions. In Old-Hungarian there was no *ž* sound; the *ž* of a foreign word was substituted with *š*. Hence, Németh assumes that in the Volga Hungarian there was no *ž* either, and a Turkic form *Mižer* must have been borrowed by them as *Mišer*, and the Russians took this form as *Mišar*.[136] But there is a snag in this complicated line of suppositions. It is entirely possible that the Volga Hungarians (Megyers) were Turkicized, and that their self-appellation became *Mižer* in their new Kipchak language. But once becoming Turkicized, how is it possible that they borrowed their self-appellation *Mižer* into their original Hungarian mother-tongue (which, by the way, must have ceased to exist as they were Turkicized)? I think it has become evident that the forms *Mežer*, *Mižer* cannot be considered original, because a *ž* > *š* change cannot be explained. Besides, the form *Meščer* cannot be explained either if we take the form with *ž* as our starting point.

Almost everybody bases his explanation on the form with *ž*, although this form occurs only in Chuvash. But in Chuvash too, *š* is the original, which quite regularly changed into *ž* in intervocalic position.[137] The Hungarian place-names *Miser*, *Misér*, *Mizsér*, which have recently been dealt with in an interesting paper by J. Németh,[138] may naturally indicate medieval Mišer-Tatar settlements in Hungary. But the form with

[133] S. P. Tolstov, *Itogi i perspektivy êtnografičeskogo izučenija nacional'nych grupp Nižegorodskoj gubernii, Kul'tura i byt narodov Central'no-promyšlennoj oblasti*, Moscow, 1929, p. 158; B. A. Kuftin, *Tatary Kasimovskie i tatary-mišari Central'no-promyšlennoj oblasti, ibid.*, p. 139.

[134] *Élet és Tudomány* 21 (1966), p. 598; "*Magyar* und *Mišer*", *Acta Orient. Hung.* 25 (1972), pp. 298-299.

[135] L. Ligeti, *Magyar Nyelv* 60 (1964), p. 401.

[136] Németh, *Acta Orient. Hung.* 25 (1972), p. 298.

[137] Ašmarin, *Thesaurus*, viii, p. 255.

[138] *Acta Orient. Hung.* 25 (1972), pp. 295-297.

zs (ɔ : *ž*) can be perfectly explained in terms of the development of Hungarian : the intervocalic *-s-* (ɔ : *š*) often becomes voiced in Old and Middle Hungarian. Some examples of this from the Latin borrowings of Hungarian are : *hozsánna*, *eklézsia* 'Church', *petrezselyem* 'parsley', etc. — D. Pais raised the issue that the form *Meščer* could be explained by a Hungarian form *Mecser* (ɔ : *Mečer*).[139] But if the existence of a variant *Mečer* were proved (such a form is not attested), Russian would have rendered it as *Мечер*.

Thus, I believe that the names *Meščer*, *Mišer* cannot be connected either to a Hungarian *Megyer* or a Turkic *Meǰer* owing to phonetic difficulties. Despite this, until *Meščer* has found a completely reliably etymology, the possibility of its connection to *Megyer* cannot be totally rejected on principle.

Finally, let us briefly survey the development of these ethnonyms. The Mišer-Tatars got their name from the territory of Meščera : they are the Tatars who after the Mongol invasion settled down in Meščera, and afterwards gradually migrated back to the east, even east of the Volga. The name *Mešer* regularly developed into *Mišer*, *Mišär* in their Tatar dialect. This ethnonym, as the appellation of the Mišer-Tatars, has been borrowed by the Chuvash as *Mežär*, *Mižär*. Although the *ž* of Chuvash *Mižär* rhymes with the *ž* of Russian *Možar*, they have come about in different ways : the *ž* of *Mižär* goes back to *š*, whereas the *ž* of *Možar* goes back to *j*. At any rate, the formal proximity of these words might have caused mixing on Chuvash soil. The *ž* of the single Chuvash form *Mužar* (*see* note 39) can be explained in this way. If certain results are put aside in investigating these ethnonyms, the puzzle of the Meščer-problem remains, which seems to be the key to the whole complex both in the historical and linguistic respects. And this problem is left open to further research, as the conventional, yet never proved Hungarian connections seemed to be without proper basis.

For those not satisfied with the arguments thus far presented, I shall try to put forward some further arguments against the *Magyar*, *Megyer* = *Meščer*, *Mišer* identity, thereby fulfilling the task of the *advocatus diaboli* : 1. If *Magyar* changed into *Možar*, why did *Megyer* become *Meščer* and *Mišer*? In both cases the starting point of the development is *-gy-*. Consequently, either they are of different origin or the divergent phonetic development must be explained (but it cannot be done). 2. It is evident from the Russian sources that the Možars and Meščers are

[139] Pais, *Magyar Nyelv* 54 (1958), p. 57, n. 1.

two different peoples; the two are never confused, *e.g.* in 1539 in Temnikov *Možar*s occur on *Meščer* territory, and not *Meščer*s (as *e.g.* in the registers of 1678 a *Meščerenin* occurs).

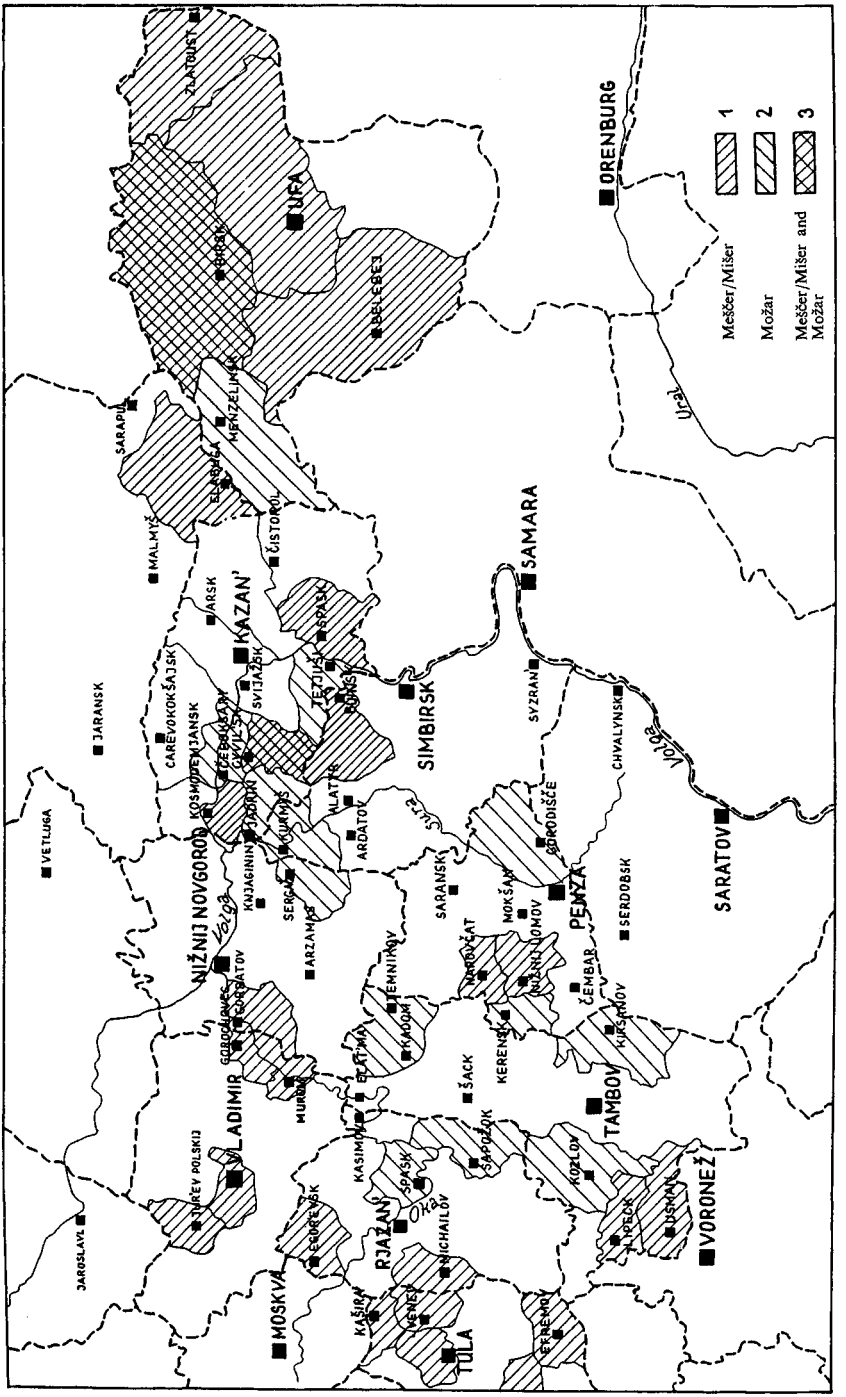
In my paper, I have indicated the main issues which further research must follow; it would be useful now to review these areas : 1. research into the dialects and ethnography of the Russian Meščers; 2. research into the dialects and ethnography of the Mišers; 3. utilization of the old Russian and European cartography with respect to place-names and ethnonyms; 4. elaboration of the historical geography of the Oka–Volga region. The latter task seems to be the most important. The elucidation of the onomastic history of settlements (especially the *Možar* and *Meščer*) in the 16th-18th centuries would much add to our knowledge, and the ethnic history of the Middle Volga region would become much clearer than it is at present.

Postscript

p. 6, lines 16–20: Later, J. Perényi published his views on the question: J. Perényi, A Keleten maradt magyarok problémája, *Századok* 1975, 33–62 and idem, Das Problem der im Osten verbliebenen Ungarn (Meščeren, Močaren, Možaren und Možerjanen), *Studia Slavica* XXII (1976), 339-376. His arguments have not convinced me to change my viewpoint concerning the separation of the Možars from the Meščers/Mišers.

p. 32, line 21: for 'the Kasimov' read 'the centre of the Kasimov'.

IV



Meščer/Mišer
Možar
Meščer/Mišer and Možar
1
2
3
ZLATOUST
UFA
BIRSK
BELEBEJ
ORENBURG
Ural
SARAPUL
MENZELINSK
ELABUGA
MALMYŠ
ČISTOROL
SAMARA
ARSK
KAZAN'
SPASK
TETJUŠ
BUINSK
SIMBIRSK
SVIJAŽSK
JARANSK
CAREVOKOKŠAJSK
ČEBOKSARY
CVVIL'SK
KOSMODEMJANSK
SYZRAN'
CHVALYNSK
Volga
VETLUGA
JADRIN
KURMYŠ
ALATYR
ARDATOV
Sura
GORODIŠČE
SARATOV
NIŽNIJ NOVGOROD
KNJAGININ
SERGIJ
ARZAMAS
SARANSK
MOKŠAN
PENZA
SERDOBSK
NARDVČAT
NIŽNIJ LOMOV
ČEMBAR
KIRŠANOV
GORODIŠČE
GORBATOV
TEMNIKOV
KADOM
KERENSK
ELATMA
ŠACK
TAMBOV
MUROM
VLADIMIR
KASIMOV
SAPOŽOK
KOZLOV
JUREV POLSKIJ
SPASK
RJAZAN'
Oka
NICHAILOV
LIPECK
USMAN
VORONEŽ
JAROSLAVL
EGOREVSK
MOSKVA
KAŠIRA
VENEV
TULA
EFREMOV

V

THE GOLDEN HORDE TERM *DARUĠA* AND ITS SURVIVAL IN RUSSIA

It is a well known fact that the Mongol invasion brought about deep changes in Russian history. These changes affected all fields of political, economic and social history. The strong and centralized Muscovite state emerged in constant conflict with the Golden Horde, then its successor states, the Crimean and Kazan Khanates. In 1552 the capture of Kazan put a temporary end to this century-long struggle, although the presence of the southern Tatar state, the Crimean Khanate, represented a real menace to Muscovy for more than a century. Research into Tatar—Russian interrelations has its significance both for Turcology and Russian studies. Besides Russian scholars, who have always shown a keen interest in this topic, researchers in the United States have concentrated on this theme for the past two decades. Following George Vernadsky's monograph[1] on the Tatar impact on Russia, a great deal of studies have been devoted to this subject (just to mention a few, Keenan's and Pelenski's works[2]), and even more have touched upon the problem. Yet much is left to be done in detail, and in this paper I shall attempt to elucidate an interesting and I daresay curious survival of a Golden Horde term in Russian mediaeval administration.

Daruġa is one of the most spread terms in Central and Inner Asia. Its origin is Mongol, and from the 13th century onwards it penetrated almost every region of the one-time Mongol empire. Quite obviously I do not feel it to be my task to trace the *daruġa* in its various forms in Mongolia or in Iran;[3] I limit my investigations to its career in the Golden Horde.

[1] G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press 1953. xi + 462 p.

[2] E. L. Keenan, *Coming to Grips with the Kazanskaya Istoriya: Some Observations on Old Answers and New Questions*: *Annals* XI/1—2 (1964—1968), pp. 143—183; E. L. Keenan, *Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy*: *Slavic Review* XXVI (1967), pp. 548—558; J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438—1560s)*, Mouton, The Hague—Paris 1974.

[3] For a general information on *daruġa*, with ample bibliographic references see A. K. S. Lambton: *EI*[2] II, pp. 162—163; Doerfer, *TMEN* I, pp. 319—323.

Etymologically the word comes from Mongol *daru-* «to press», so it has the same meaning as the word *basqaq*, denomination of another dignitary of the Golden Horde, which derives from Turkic *bas-* «to press».[4] Though having the same meaning and very similar functions, their spheres of activity do not necessarily overlap in all details,[5] but now *basqaq* and its relation to *daruġa* lies outside the scope of my investigations.[6]

The precise meaning and function of a *daruġa* have changed according to time and place, but there is one common feature everywhere, namely that the *daruġa* is a chief official, a superior of a territorial and/or administrative unit. It is very difficult to know what a *daruġa* really did, since sources do not abound is descriptions of their official duties. As the chief task of civil administration in a feudal nomadic state like the Golden Horde, was to assure regular taxation of the subjects, the *daruġa*'s function was surely connected with taxation, in Vernadsky's words he must have been a «state revenue inspector» whose task was «to supervise the collection of taxes and to certify the amount collected.»[7] Berezin thinks that one of their tasks was to make a census of the native subjects of the Golden Horde[8] (while *basqaq*s were in charge of the conquered population).

Instead of putting forward new conjectures, I try to critically scrutinize every piece of data referring to *daruġa* in the Golden Horde. We have Tatar and Russian sources at our disposal, let us commence with the native sources.

In the diplomatic yarliks of the khans of the Golden Horde *daruġa*s do not occur, as they did not play any role in the foreign relations of the Horde. In most of the tarkhan-yarliks, on the other hand, they are regularly mentioned at the beginning of the diplomas where the sovereign addresses himself to his subjects of various ranks and posts. Moreover, *daruġa* is always found at the very beginning, after the enumeration of the military offices. In Haǰi-Girey's yarlik from 1453: (5) *O Uluġ Ulusnïŋ tümen miŋ yüz on* (6) *oġlanlar bėkleriŋe basa Qïrïm tümenini* (7) *bilgen Ėminek bašlïġ d a r u ġ a* (داروغا) *bėkleriŋe*[9] «To the *oġlan*s and *bek*s of the ten thousandths, thousandths, hundredths and tenths of the Great Ulus, and to the lord *daruġa*s commanding the Crimean region with Eminek at the head». So first the khan turns to the leaders of

[4] See Berezin, *Šeǰb.*, n. 89; Berezin II, p. 43, n. 43; M. Fuad Köprülü: *İA* III, p. 487; Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, p. 72, n. 1; Doerfer, *TMEN* I, pp. 322—323. In Pelliot's opinion *daru-* and *bas-* here mean «to press/affix a seal», so the original meaning of *daruġa* ~ *basqaq* must have been «sealer».

[5] Doerfer, *TMEN* I, p. 319.

[6] For the interrelation of *daruġa* and *basqaq* see Sablukov, *Kipč. car.*, p. 8; Berezin II, pp. 43, 45—46; Grekov—Jakubovskij, *Zol. orda*, pp. 130—131; Fedorov-Davydov, *Obšč. stroj*, pp. 30—31.

[7] Vernadsky, *Mongols*, p. 212.

[8] Berezin II, p. 45.

[9] Kurat, *Topkapı*, pp. 64—65.

the principal military units, the decimal division of which goes back to Chingis' military organization. The expression *Qïrïm tümeni* is used here. Obviously enough *tümen* means «region, area, territory» in this context, but originally it is a military term (as it was used in the first part of the khan's intitulatio), and later might have come to mean «larger territorial unit». The Crimean *daruġa*s crop up already in 1382, in Toχtamïš's tarkhan-yarlik: *Qïrïm tümeninin Qutlu Buġa bašlïġ d a r u ġ a bėkleriŋe*[10] «To the lord *daruġa*s of the Crimean region with Qutlu Buġa at the head».

Besides *tümen daruġasï* «superior of a larger territory» there were superiors of single towns, e.g. in Haǰi-Girey's yarlik treated above; after the *daruġa* of the Crimea the superiors of a single town follow: *Qïrq yėrinniŋ Šāhmerdān bašlïġ d a r u ġ a bėkleriŋe*[11] «To the lord *daruġa*s of Qïrq yėr with Šāhmerdān at the head». As several *daruġa*s are mentioned here, probably the whole district of the town of Qïrq yėr (alias Čufut-qale) was meant. Saadet-Girey's yarlik from 1523 also mentions the town superiors: *Uluġ Ulusnïŋ oŋ qol sol qolnïŋ tümen biŋ yüz on bilgen oġlanlar bėkleriŋe, ički šehr d a r u ġ a bėkleriŋe*[12] «To the *oġlan*s and *bek*s of the ten thousandths, thousandths, hundredths and tenths of the right and left wing of the Great Ulus, to the lord *daruġa*s of the inner towns».

After the *šehr darugalarï* «town and district chiefs» the lower rank of village *daruġa*s followed. Meŋli-Girey khan says: *Ički kentlerniŋ d a r u ġ a bėkleriŋe*[13] «To the lord *daruġa*s of the inner villages». Originally *kent* means «town»,[14] but there are several data for the meaning «village» too,[15] and the Russian translation of *kent* as «village» (see further below) may assure us that *kent* stands here for village.

This threefold division of the *daruġa*s (*tümen, šehr, kent*) can be observed in the Russian translations of the Tatar khans' yarliks given to the Russian priesthood. *Tümen* is rendered as *volostj*, a well known territorial unit in mediaeval Russian administration. In Tülek's yarlik to Metropolitan Michail (1379) the khan addresses «the Tatar princes who have an ulus and an army, and the *daruġa*s of the *volostj*s».[16] In Tajdula's yarlik to Metropolitan Aleksej (11 February 1354) *tümen darugalarï* are translated simply as *volosteli* «the

[10] Berezin II, p. 13.

[11] Kurat, *Topkapı*, pp. 64—65.

[12] Berezin II, p. 18.

[13] Berezin: *ZOOID* VIII (1872), app., p. 3; A. Hasan; *Türkiyat Mecmuası* IV (1934), p. 102.

[14] For the Old-Turkic data see *DTS*, p. 290 under *känd*.

[15] LA *känt* «Dorf» (Houtsma, p. 99); Azerb. dial. *känt* 'ein Dorf, Flecken' (Radloff II, c. 1080); Kirg. *kent* «punkt osedlosti, selenie; gorod» (Jud. 1965, p. 373).

[16] «tatarjskym ulusnym i ratnym knjazem, i *volostnym* samym *dorogam*» (*Pam. russk. prava* III, p. 465). The same *volostnye dorogi* occur in Berdibek's yarlik to Metropolitan Aleksej (November 1357) (*ibid.*, p. 469).

administrative chiefs of a *volostj*».[17] *Šehr darugalarï* became *gorodnye dorogi* in Russian,[18] while *kent darugalarï* are the *selnye dorogi*.[19] Vernadsky's suggestion that Russian *ulus* corresponds to ten thousand, *volostj* to thousand, *gorod* to hundred, *selo* to ten, is totally wrong.[20] Suffice it to recall Tajdula's yarlik to Metropolitan Aleksej where the words *k temnym i k tysjaščnym knjazem, i sotnikom i desjatnikom* are a precise rendering of Tatar *tümen, miŋ, yüz, on oġlanlarï*.[21]

In the yarliks the word *daruġa* always occurred in the context *daruġa bėkleri* which I considered as a whole and translated as «the lord *daruġas*». In all editions of the yarliks *daruġas* and *bėks* are treated separately. Though grammatically both translations are acceptable, only the former can be supported from the standpoint of its meaning. *Bėks* were leaders of the ruling class, princes or whatever we may call them. But *bėk* was above all a title, either inherited or obtained. A *bėk* could bear several offices, he may have had functions in the military and civil administration of the state, he could be a *daruġa* too. E. g. in 6946 (1438) the Tatars and Russians fought at Belev. It is mentioned in the Russian Annals that the khan sent his son-in-law Eliberdej and the *daruġas*, prince Usein Saraev and Usen-chozja to the Russian princes and voevodes.[22] Thus in this case the two princes bore the office of *daruġa*. As it was a fairly high dignitary in state apparatus, most often princes (*bėkler*) filled this post. So the most appropriate translation of *daruġa bėkleri*, I think, would be «the *daruġa* princes; princes who are *daruġas*». But in the case of a *daruġa* of a lower rank, that of a village or smaller settlement, the word *bėk* might have become sort of a honorary title, i.e. as can be not infrequently observed, titles become degraded. So as another possibility the translation «the lord *daruġas*» is likewise imaginable, to the analogy of modern Turkish *müdür bey* «Herr Direktor».

Be that as it may, it can be clearly seen that the office of the *daruġas* greatly differed according to the significance and importance of the post. It is evident that the mayors of New York and — let us say — Chattanooga are not of quite the same importance. Likewise the *daruġa* of a large area was much more powerful than the *daruġa* of a little settlement. Notwithstanding, a clear-cut division of labour and function among the various sorts of *daruġas*

[17] *Pam. russk. prava* III, p. 470.

[18] Tajdula's yarlik to Metropolitan Aleksej: « . . . i volostelem, i *gorodnym dorogam*, i knjazem, . . .» (*Pam. russk. prava* III, p. 470).

[19] Tajdula's yarlik to Metropolitan Feognost (4 February 1351): « . . . i volostnym i gorodnym i *selnym dorogam* . . .» (*Pam. russk. prava* III, p. 468).

[20] Vernadsky, *Mongols*, p. 219.

[21] *Pam. russk. prava* III, p. 470.

[22] «Nautriže že poslal car ko knjazem Rusjkim i voevodam zjatja svoego Eliběrděja da *darag* knjazej Useina Saraeva da Usenj-Chozju, . . .» (Nik. let.: *PSRL* XII, p. 24).

can not be assumed of under the conditions of the feudal state of the Golden Horde.

In 6940 (1432) Prince Jurij Dmitrievič went to the Horde and was received by a certain Min-Bulat, *daruġa* of Moscow (*doroga Moskovskoj Minjbulat*) in his own ulus.[23] Berezin was confused by this Min-Bulat, and thought that he must have been a *basqaq*, not a *daruġa*.[24] First of all, Berezin's correction is arbitrary, secondly it is even needless, since it does not contradict Berezin's theory that the *daruġa*s were not present in the subjected lands. Most probably this Min-Bulat was a high official, a *daruġa* of the Horde who did not reside in Russia, and was the chief superviser of Muscovite affairs, especially in financial matters, taxation. Besides the *daruġa* of Moscow, *daruġa*s of other subjected Russian territories must have been existed, thus *daruġa*s in charge of Tverj, Rjazanj, etc.[25] The Russian princes coming to the Horde with their taxes and duties, must have been received and controlled by the *daruġa* in charge of that principality. But gradually, in the fourteenth century other Russian territorial *daruġa*s must have disappeared, as the gathering and presentation of the taxes from all Russian principalities to the Golden Horde became the duty of the Prince/Grand Prince of Moscow.

In 1376 the Russian Annals relate the Russian campaign led by Dmitrij Donskoj against the Bulgars. The Bulgarian Princes Asan and Machmet surrender to the Russians who place a *daruġa* and a customs official (*tamožnik*) in Bolgary.[26] So the Russians installed the same administrative officials who were used in the Tatar state apparatus. At a later time, after the conquest, of Kazan, the Russian sovereign imposed a *daruġa* on the Siberian Khan Yadigar to collect taxes.[27] So in this case a native office was held by a Russian, the Russians did not touch the native system of administration.

[23] In the Voskresenskaja letopisj: «I jakože prišedšim vo ordu, i vzjat ich k sebě v ulus *doroga* Moskovskoj Minjbulat, knjazju že velikomu čestj bě velika ot nego, a knjazju Juriju bežščestie i istoma velika;» (*PSRL* VIII, p. 96). The same event is treated in the Nikon Chronicle (*PSRL* XII, p. 15).

[24] Berezin II, pp. 45—46.

[25] See Vernadsky, *Mongols*, p. 228; Zimin: *Pam. russk. prava* III, p. 473.

[26] Voskr. let. under the entry for 6884: «Knjazj ze Boljgarskij Asan i Machmat saltan dobista čelom velikomu knjazju i testjju ego knjazju Dmitriju Konstantinovičju dvěma tysjačma rublev, a *daragu* i tamožnika posadiša knjazja velikogo v Bolgarěch, i otъidoša pročj, . . .» (*PSRL* VIII, p. 25). The same event in the Nikon Chron.: *PSRL* XI, p. 25; Letopisec Rogožskij: *PSRL* XV², p. 116; Simeon Chron.: *PSRL* XVIII, p. 118; Ermolin Chron.: *PSRL* XXIII, p. 120; Typographic Chron.: *PSRL* XXIV, p. 133; L'vov Chron.: *PSRL* XX/1, p. 197. — In the Nikon Chronicle (*PSRL* XI, p. 25) Bolgary and the Bulgars are substituted by Kazan and the Kazanians. For the ideological background of this effort of the Nikon Chronicle to buttress the theory of the Bulgar-Kazanian continuity see Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 151—153.

[27] In the Normantskij Chronicle: «čtoby vsju zemlju Sibirskuju vzjal v svoe imja, i ot storon ot vsěch zastupil, i danj svoju na nich položil, i *dorogu* svoego prislal komu

A special duty had to be paid to the *daruǧas* which is called *pošlina dorožskaja* in the Russian sources. So a separate sum was retained from the state revenue to the *daruǧas* for their services. In 1493 Ivan Vasiljevič Grand Prince of Moscow made a contract with his namesake Ivan Vasiljevič, Grand Prince of Rjazanj. In this contract the Rjazanj Grand Prince is compelled to pay the same taxes to the carevič Danjjar of the Kasimov Khanate and his princes, treasurers, *daruǧas*, as was regulated formerly in the reign of his grandfather and father.[28]

Duties paid to the *daruǧas* were known in the Crimea too. In 1474 Nikita Beklemišev was the Russian envoy sent to Meŋli-Girey from Ivan III. Among others he brought three drafts of a yarlik with him, one of which the Crimean ruler was to accept and confirm. According to the patent free movement of envoys must be ensured, without paying the *pošlina daražskaja* and other sorts of duties.[29] — In a yarlik of 1498, Meŋli-Girey Khan states that the princes of Odoev according to the old custom paid him, as *yasak*, one thousand altyn and a further one thousand altyn to the *daruǧas*.[30]

That is what we could gather from the scanty source material for the role and function of a *daruǧa* in the Golden Horde. Now let us slip over for a while to contemporary mediaeval Russia, and examine more closely a special institution of 14th—15th century Russia. There was a threefold division of feudal landed property: court lands — *dvorcovye zemli*, black lands — *černye zemli*, service lands — *služilye zemli*. The administration of an appanage princi-

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danj sobratj ... i pravdu dali na tom, čto im davati Gosudarju so vsjakago čornago čelověka po sobolju, da *dorogě* Gosudarevu po bělkě s celověka po Sibirskoj ... I carj Gosudarj poslal k nim posla svoego i *dorogoju* i s svoim žalovannym jarlykom Dmitrija Kurova, syna Nepejcyna; i veležl Dmitreju knjazja Edigera i vsju zemlju Sibirskuju k pravdě privesti, i černych ljudej perepisav i danj vsju spolna vzjatj i s dorožeskoju pošlinoju.» (Beljaev, *Mong. čin.*, p. 101).

[28] «A čto šlo c(a)r(e)vičju Kasymu i s(y)nu ego Dan(j)jaru c(a)r(e)vičju s vašie zemli pri tvoem dědě, pri velikom kn(ja)zi Ivaně Fedorovičě, i pri tvoem otcě, pri velikom kn(ja)zi Vasil(j)e Ivanovičě, i čto c(a)r(e)vičevym kn(ja)zem šlo, i ich kaznačěem, i *daragam*, a to tobě davati s svoee zemli c(a)r(e)vičju Dan(j)jaru, ili kto inoi c(a)r(e)vič budet na tom městě, i ich kn(ja)zem, i kn(ja)žim kaznačěem, i *daragam* po těm zapisem, kak ot(e)cj moi, knjaz(j) veliki Vasilei Vasil(j)evič, za tvoego otcja, za velikog(o) knjaz(ja) Vasil(j)ja Ivanovič(ja), končal so carevičevymi s Kasymovymi knjazmi, s Kobjakom sa Aidarovym s(y)nom da s-Ysakom s Achmatovym s(y)n(o)m.» (*DDG*, p. 284). The same text can be found in a second copy of the diploma where the form *darogam* occurs: *DDG*, pp. 287—288. For an analysis of this diploma see Veljjaminov-Zernov, *Kas. car.* I, pp. 29—30.

[29] «A *pošlinam daražskim* i inym vsem pošlinam nikotorym ne byti.» (*SIRIO* 41, pp. 4, 5, 6).

[30] «Iz stariny Odoevskich gorodov knjazi, po starine k nam, čto davali jasaku tysjačju altyn, a *daragam* druguju tysjačju davali, po toj pošline daragu ich bachšeiša poslal esmi;» (*SIRIO* 41, p. 269).

pality (*udeljnoe knjažestvo*) fell into three domains: 1. the Court of the Prince (corresponding more or less to modern central authorities), 2. the local administration of *namestniki* and *volosteli*, 3. the administration of privileged (both secular and Church) landed properties. The court of the Prince (*dvorec*) which was headed by the *dvoreckij* dealt with the court lands, villages and servants. There were special branches of the administration of the princely court, the so-called *puti* «ways, roads». A *putj* was a territorial and administrative unit in the economy of the princely court. Originally various handicraft and other services were combined in a *putj*, destined for the provision of the court, thus the princely studs, meadows and pastures, hunting, fowling, falconry, fishing, gardens, forest apiculture, etc. Various servants of various professions were divided into the *puti*: falconers (*sokoljniki*), beaver-hunters (*bobrovniki*), forest bee-keepers (*bortniki*), masters of hounds (*psari*), gardeners (*ogorodniki* and *sadovniki*). These *puti* were headed by the *putnye bojare* or *putniki*, high dignitaries of the princely court.[31]

Which were these *puti*? Some of them are first mentioned in the contract of Ivan Kalita's three sons from ca. 1350—1351.[32] Here we read of the *sokoljničij putj*, *konjušij putj* and *lovčij putj*. So the *puti* were named after the high court official who headed the *putj* in question. There is a fourth *putj* the *stareišij putj* in this diploma the function of which is obscure. In the 15th century two further *puti* are mentioned in the documents. The *čašničij putj* dealt with the forest bee-keeping and the *stoljničij putj* disposed of the gardens and fishing of the princely court.[33]

The *puti* formed a special administrative system which crossed the administration of the *namestniki* and *volosteli*. In the same town or village different groups of people may have belonged to different authorities. Each *putj* consisted of such small units scattered in several districts, but all these settlements were gathered in special *volosti*. The *putnyj bojarin* had his own *volosteli* who governed through the elected *starostas* of the little communities.[34]

The *puti* were independent authorities within the court outside the jurisdiction of the *dvoreckij*. Consequently a *putnyj bojarin* was a very important and influential person. It is not by chance that the leader of a *putj*, the *konjušij* became the first *bojarin* by rank in 16th century Muscovy.[35] They had special privileges, e. g. they were exempt from the duty of the town defence

[31] For *putj* and *putniki* see Ključevskij, *Boj. duma*[3], pp. 101—104 (fundamental researches on the theme); Kočin, *Slovarj*, pp. 33, 289, 290; Zimin, *Dvorc. učr.*, pp. 183—184, n. 25; *Sov. Ist. Ênc.* 11 (1968), p. 714; Howes, *Testaments*, pp. 85—87.

[32] *DDG*, No. 2, p. 11.

[33] Zimin, *Dvorc. učr.*, pp. 183—184.

[34] Ključevskij, *Boj. duma*[3], pp. 104—105.

[35] Ključevskij, *Boj. duma*[3], p. 109.

(*gorodskaja osada*). All the service people who had landed property (*votčina*) in a certain province (*uezd*), were compelled to take part in the defence of the *uezdnyj gorod* in case of necessity, although they served in another principality. Only the *putnye* and *vvedennye bojare* were exempted from this obligation.[36]

Some of the court ranks who later became the leaders of the *puti* (e. g. the *konjušij*), and their offices existed already in the Kievan period. The service handicraft and craftsmen (in German professional term *die Dienstleute*) were well known in Central and Eastern Europe in the period of early feudalism when the primitive natural economy needed these services. They were present in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary,[37] and by the 13th century it faded away: these special handicraft services were transformed into agricultural services. To a certain extent it must have been present in Kievan Russia too, but the whole system was formed not earlier than the Mongol period, i.e. the 13th century, and the designation *putj* does not crop up before that age either. So the system of *puti* is characteristic of 14th—15th century Russian principalities, though its roots may go back earlier, and it survived in the 16th century (there is evidence from the 17th century too) as remnants of old Russian appanage principalities. In the 16th century the *puti* were transformed into the new *prikaz* system, though not every *putj* was gathered in the *Prikaz Boljšogo Dvorca*.[38] G. Vernadsky had already entertained a shrewd suspicion that this system of the *puti* must have been formed under the influence of certain oriental patterns. «Might it not be considered a Russian equivalent of some Oriental term?» — he asks, and unhesitatingly he tries to prove that a Turkic *türe* or *yol* could be thought of as a pattern for *putj*.[39] On the whole his argumentation is not convincing at all. Instead of these two terms a third one, the *daruġa* must be considered here.[40] This idea must be developed and in the following I shall endeavour to buttress it with solid arguments. The Russian *putj* is a twofold borrowing of Tatar *daruġa*, both its function and name were borrowed.

To understand the functional borrowing we must know that the *putnye*

[36] Ključevskij, *Sočinenija* VI, p. 93. — In the treaties of the princes and grand princes of the 14th—15th centuries this privilege repeatedly occurs, e.g. Grand Prince Vasilij Dmitrievič's treaty with Jurij Dmitrievič, Prince of Galič from ca. 1390: «A gorodnaja osada, gde kto živet, tomu tuto i sesti, oproče *poutnych bojar*.» (*DDG*, No. 14, p. 20). The *DDG* abounds in this formula.

[37] For a recent work on this question see Heckenast G., *Fejedelmi (királyi) szolgálónépek a korai Árpád-korban*. Budapest 1970, esp. pp. 52—68 (with ample bibliographical references).

[38] Ključevskij, *Boj. duma*[3], p. 109.

[39] Vernadsky, *Mongols*, pp. 361—362.

[40] The key to the right solution has been given by Zimin who remarked in a short sentence that *puti* could be compared with *daruġas* (*Dvorc. učr.*, p. 184, n. 25, and the same in *Sov. Ist. Ênc.* 11 (1968), p. 714).

bojare were rewarded for their services from the revenue of the *putj*. E. g. the *konjušij* was given a *volostj* which was ascribed to the *konjušij putj*.[41] Thus in time several *volosti* and settlements may have become parts of a *putj*, despite the fact that the inhabitants did not belong to the servants who were originally combined in the *putj* in question. Beside the head of the *putj*, his servants and officials were given similar rewards from revenue, so a *putj* sometimes became what a *kormlenie* was. The system of *kormlenie* «alimentation» meant that lands, villages were granted for use, i.e. their proprietor exploited them in his own interest. Sometimes a *putj* was nothing else than a *kormlenie v dvorcovom vedomstve* «alimentation in the court authority», as Zimin put it.[42] The term *gramoty v putj* was identical with *gramoty v kormlenie*, these were diplomas in which the grant of lands for personal use was settled. This may give explanation why parts of a *putj* could be granted to other persons than the leader of the *putj*. If a prince granted a village to somebody, and — let us say — there were parts of three different *puti* in this village, all people in these *puti* became subject to the new proprietor.[43] This is a distinctive feature of the system of the *puti* in the 14th—15th centuries: organizations of originally service handicraft were transformed into the system of state alimentation. And this new development may have taken place under the influence of the *daruġa*-system of the Golden Horde. The lands of a *putj*, the *putnye ugodjja* is something very similar to the *pošlina daražskaja*.

Besides the function, I must answer the question as to the origin of the word *putj*. The *daruġa*, as we have seen, was a territorial and/or administrative superior who might have headed larger or smaller units. Already in Tatar the name *daruġa* might have been transferred to the territorial/administrative unit he headed. Kurat, e. g. interprets the expression *daruġa bėkleri* which occurs in Haji-Girey's yarlik from 1453, as «daruga (vilayet) beyleri», and the word *daruġa* is translated as «vilayet, nahiye».[44] In Russian *daruġa* was transcribed most often as *doroga*, sometimes as *doraga*, *daraga*, *dariga*.[45] As the Tatar word *daruġa* had the accent on its last syllable, in Russian the vowels of the two first syllables gained a reduced character, and this reduced sound was most often rendered with *o* (see e. g. *Totar* < *Tatar*, *Možar* < *Mažar*, etc.). But written as *doroga* it became a «meaningful» word in Russian, since this

[41] Ključevskij, *Sočinenija* VI, p. 193.

[42] Zimin, *Dvorc. učr.*, p. 184, n. 25.

[43] E. g. Grand Prince Vasilij Dmitrievič in his testament (March 1423) grants: «A is Perjjaslavlja knjagine moei Julka tak že so vsemi ljudmi, kotorogo puti v nei ljudi ni budut, da Dobroe selo.» (*DDG*, No. 22, p. 61).

[44] Kurat, *Topkapı*, pp. 76, 138; the same thought in Fedorov-Davydov, *Obšč. stroj*, p. 124.

[45] For these occurences see Sreznevskij I, pp. 706—707; Kočin, *Slovarj*, p. 101; Vasmer, *REW* I, pp. 328, 364.

word, with an accent on the second syllable means «way, road» in Russian. So owing to popular etymology it may have been re-translated into Russian as *putj*, a synonymous word with *doróga* «road». This is more than a mere conjecture. The idea can be supported by the fact that Karamzin, the famous Russian historian of the 18th—19th century interpreted *pošlina doražskaja* (see above) as *putevaja pošlina*, i.e. a road duty.[46] If the learned scholar committed this error or misunderstanding, it can be supposed of the scribes and bookmen of the 14th century, too.

All in all I do hope that I succeeded in proving that the *putj* system of 14th—15th century Russian bears evidence of the depth of the Golden Horde's influence on mediaeval Russia.

Abbreviations

Annals	The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts in the U. S.
Beljaev, *Mong. čin.*	I. Beljaev, *O mongoljskich činovnikach na Rusi, upominaemych v chanskich jarlykach: Archiv istoriko-juridičeskich svedenij, otnosjaščichsja do Rossii* I, Spb. 1876, pp. 93—106
Berezin II	I. N. Berezin, *Tarchannye jarlyki Tochtamyša, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireja*, Kazanj 1851 (= *Chanskie jarlyki* II)
Berezin, *Šejb.*	I. N. Berezin, *Šejbaniada. Istorija mongolo-tjurkov na džagatajskom dialekte*, Kazanj 1849.
DDG	*Duchovnye i dogovornye gramoty velikich i udeljnych knjazej XIV—XVI vv.* Ed. L. V. Čerepnin, M.—L. 1950.
Doerfer, *TMEN*	G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersichen* I—III, Wiesbaden 1963—1967.
DTS	*Drevnetjurkskij slovarj*, Leningrad 1969.
EI[2]	*Enzyklopedie des Islam* I—IV.
Fedorov-Davydov, *Obšč. stroj*	G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Obščestvennyj stroj Zolotoj Ordy*, Moskva 1973.
Grekov—Jakubovskij, *Zol.orda*	B. D. Grekov—A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie*, M.—L. 1950.
Howes, *Testaments*	R. C. Howes, *The Testaments of the Grand Princes of Moscow*, Ithaca, New York 1967.
İA	*İslam Ansiklopedisi* I–XIII. Istanbul
Jud. 1965	K. K. Judachin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1965.
Karamzin, *IGR* V	N. M. Karamzin, *Istorija gosudarstva rossijskogo*, Spb. 1819.
Ključevskij, *Boj. duma*[3]	V. Ključevskij, *Bojarskaja duma drevnej Rusi.* Izd. 3-e, Moskva 1902.

[46] Karamzin, *IGR* V, n. 124.

Kočin, *Slovarj*	G. E. Kočin, *Materialy dlja terminologičeskogo slovarja drevnej Rossii*, M.—L. 1937.
Kurat, *Topkapı*	A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940.
LA (Houtsma)	The Leiden Anonymous, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894.
Pam. russk. prava III.	*Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, ed. L. V. Čerepnin, Moskva 1955.
Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*	P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949.
PSRL	*Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej*
Radloff	W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* I—IV, Spb. 1893—1911.
Sablukov, *Kipč. car.*	G. S. Sablukov, *Očerk vnutrennego sostojanija Kipčakskogo Carstva*, Kazanj 1895.
SIRIO	*Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva*
Sreznevskij	I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka po pisjmennym pamjatnikam*, Spb. 1893—1912.
Sov. Ist. Ênc.	*Sovetskaja Istoričeskaja Ênciklopedija*
Vasmer, *REW*	M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I—III, Heidelberg 1953—58.
Veljjaminov-Zernov, *Kas. car.*	V. V. Veljjaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o Kasimovskich carjach i carevičach* I—IV, Spb. 1863—1887.
Vernadsky, *Mongols*	G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, New Haven 1953.
Zimin, *Dvorc. učr.*	A. A. Zimin, *O sostave dvorcovych učreždenijach Russkogo gosudarstva konca XV i XVI v.: Istoričeskie zapiski* 63 (1958), pp. 180—205
ZOOID	*Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej*

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VI

THE INSTITUTION OF FOSTER-BROTHERS (*EMILDÄŠ* AND *KÖKÄLDÄŠ*) IN THE CHINGISID STATES

1. Foster-brothers and foster-sisters, i.e. persons who became related to each other through the fact that they had been breast-fed by the same woman, generally the mother of one of them, are well known all over the world. Foster-brotherhood was especially significant and carefully borne in mind in primitive societies, in which all human contacts tended to appear in the garb of kinship relations. But the practice of using wet-nurses was also known in feudal societies, and the practice itself has been maintained practically to the present time in areas untouched by technical civilization, where it is the only means of feeding infants when their mothers' breasts become dry owing to some reason or the other. Although foster-brothers and foster-sisters are mentioned in the different folk tales of the world, they never seem to step out of the sphere of family life and attain any real significance in social life. Thus the investigation of foster-brotherhood has remained within the authenticity of ethnography and ethnology. Nevertheless, if the sources relating to the Chingisid states in the 13th—17th centuries are closely scrutinized, one may find two terms concerning foster-brotherhood, namely *emildäš* and *kökäldäš*. The use of these terms and the social role of their bearers clearly shows that foster-brothers of the royal dynasty occupied an important place in social hierarchy, moreover their rank became institutionalized to a certain extent. To my mind this interesting phenomenon is not attested elsewhere, so I shall try to expound it in the following.

2. Foster-brothers were known among the Turks well before the Mongol period, but nothing seems to denote that any social significance was attached to them. The term used for them was *ämigdäš* first attested by Kāšġarī, the 11th century lexicographer. His definition runs as follows: «And female breast is called *ämig*, and those [two persons] who suck the same breast are called *ämigdäš*, that is 'comrade of the breast'».[1] Kāšġarī's definition places

[1] Wa yuqālu li-l-ṯadyi «*ämig* (اَمِك)», wa yuqālu li-l-raḍī'ayni min ṯadyn wāḥidin «*ämigdäš* (اَمِكدَش) ay muṣāḥibu'l-ṯadyi. (Rif'at, vol. I, p. 341; Atalay, vol. I, p. 407).

the origin of the word in proper light; to put it in our modern wording: *ämigdäš* is a derivative in *-däš* from the noun *ämig* «female breast». The formant *-daš, -däš* is well-known in both old and modern Turkic languages, it expresses the idea of sharing something, of being comrades in something.[2] The noun *ämig* is the common word for «female breast» in Old Turkic, in contemporary Turkic languages it survives only in Tuvan.[3] Furthermore, *ämig* is a derivative from the verb *äm-/em-* «to suck» known in practically all Turkic languages.[4] The term *ämigdäš* survived only in a very limited number of documents and languages after the Mongol period. It occurs in Quṭb's *Ḫusräv u Širīn* from the 14th century (*ämügdäš*),[5] and there are dubious data for it in Pavet de Courteille's and Şeyh Süleyman's Chagatay dictionaries.[6] But it is quite frequent in 15th—16th-century Ottoman documents.[7] In contemporary Turkic languages only Tuvan and Uzbek preserve it, in the latter it is an archaic term.[8]

The fact that *ämig* and *ämigdäš* became obsolete or died out in most of the contemporary Turkic languages can be explained by the emergence of a new derivative of *äm-* in *-čäk*, i.e. *ämčäk* «breast». This form seems to have spread in all the Kipchak languages (Karaim, Nogay, Kumyk, Kazan Tatar, Kazak, Karakalpak, and Kirgiz) and in Uzbek, Turki and Turkmen,[9] whereas the older derivative *ämig* disappeared. Consequently in a couple of contempo-

[2] See Gabain, *ATG*, p. 63; Brockelmann, *OTG*, pp. 97—98; Zajączkowski *Sufiksy*, pp. 36—37; Menges, *MMX*, pp. 37—39.

[3] There are data for *ämig* from Türk and Uyghur texts and from Kāšġarī, for these see Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 158—159. For Tuvan *ämig* «breast; udder» see Radloff, *Wb.* I, p. 954 and *TuRS*, p. 613.

[4] See Sevortjan, *ÉS* I, pp. 271—272 and Clauson, *EDT*, p. 155.

[5] Ouṭb *ämügdäš* (اموگداش) (A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka* Ḫusräv u Širīn *Quṭba* III, Warszawa 1961, p. 20; see also É. N. Nadžip, *Istoriko-sravnitel'nyj slovar' tjurkskich jazykov XIV veka I*, Moscow 1979, p. 238).

[6] Chagatay *emügdäš* «frère de lait, ami intime» (PdC, p. 137), «memedaş, sütkardeş, rizâ'i» (ŞS, p. 62). ŞS evidently took the word from PdC. As all the good and old Chagatay dictionaries ignore this form, PdC's *emügdäš* seems to be very dubious.

[7] Ottoman *emügdeş, emigdeş* (*Tarama Sözlüğü* III, p. 1464) with several examples. — The Ottoman and modern Turkish word *emik* «sucked, sucked dry; that is frequently sucked, as a bruise, bruised, sore» (Redhouse, p. 200), «krásnoe pjatnó na kóže ot sosánija» (*TurRS*, p. 271) is a deverbal form from *em-*, and is different from the word *emig* to be found in the Middle-Ottoman form *emigdeş* (see also Clauson, *EDT*, p. 158).

[8] Tuvan (Soyon) *ämigdäš* «der Milchbruder» (Radloff, *Wb.* I, p. 954). In the modern *TuRS* this word is not attested, only its basic word *ämig* is given (cf. note 3 above). Uzbek *emikdoš* «molóčnyj brat, molóčnaja sestrá» (*UzRS*, p. 554) is an archaic term cited from the epic poem *Alpomiš*.

[9] Codex Cumanicus *emčäk*, Ibn Muhannā, Abū Ḥayyān *ämčäk*, Karaim *ämčäk* (K, H), *öṁčak* (T), Nogay *ämšäk*, Kumyk *ämčäk*, Kazan Tatar *imčäk*, Kazak, Karakalpak *emšek*, Kirgiz *ämčäk*, Uzbek *emčak*, Turki *amček, emček*, Turkmen *ämǰäk*.

rary languages (Kumyk, Kazan Tatar, Kazak, Karakalpak, Kirgiz, and Uzbek) the name of foster-brothers is *ämcäktäš* in its corresponding forms.[10]

Turning back to the past the conclusion can be reached that before the Mongol period, i.e. the 13th century, the term *ämigdäš* was used for «foster-brother», and in modern ages, i.e. the 19th—20th centuries, the term *ämčäktäš* was in common use. But in the meantime, in the Mongol period and in the subsequent centuries, two special terms became preponderant for denoting «foster-brother»: *emildäš* and *kökäldäš*. Both terms belong to the lesser known words of Turkic lexicography and both have often been misinterpreted. Therefore, it seems appropriate to trace every single piece of data concerning these terms.

3. The term *emildäš* was used in the Golden Horde and its successor states, the khanates of the Crimea, Kazan and Kasimov, and in the Nogay Horde. The word itself was formed of *emil* «breast», but this word cannot be attested independently, only connected with *-däš*. The *-l* forms nouns from verbs both in Turkic and in Mongol, but in the latter it seems to be more productive.[11] An interesting parallel can be seen in the word *ötül* «request, application» which is known only from the diplomas of the Golden Horde, otherwise the form *ötüg* was in use.[12] I have the impression that the preference for the use of forms with *-l* instead of those with *-g*, though the formant *-l* is evidently Turkic, can be ascribed to the influence of Mongol patterns where this formant was quite common. So *ämildäš* replaced *ämigdäš*.

The first occurrence of *ämildäš* is in the *Tuḥfat* from the 14th century.[13] It clearly shows in the direction of the Kipchak tongue of the Golden Horde. In the Crimean Khanate of the 16th century foster-brothers were known in social hierarchy. In 1516, the Russian grand prince of Moscow complained to the Crimean Khan: *A včeras', gospodine, prišod ko mne, tvoi ljudi siloju Mamak duvan da Jansufu imildeš so mnogimi ljudmi, da u kazny pečat' moju sorvali.* «And yesterday, Milord, your servants Mamak duvan and Jansufu imildeš came to me with force accompanied by many people, and seized my seal from

[10] Kumyk *ämčäk qïzardaš* «molóčnaja sestrá» (*KuRS*, p. 375), Kazan Tatar *imčäktä* (*TaRS*, p. 168), Kazak *emšektes* (*Kazach—mongol tol'*, Ulaanbaatar 1977, p. 98), Karakalpak *emšekles* (*RKaS*, p. 438), Kirgiz *ämčäktäš* (*KiRS*, p. 952), Uzbek *emčakdoš* = *emikdoš* (*UzRS*, p. 555).

[11] For *-l* in Turkic see Gabain, *ATG*, p. 72; Brockelmann, *OTG*, pp. 115—116; Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy*, pp. 86—87.

[12] For *ötül* and *ötüg* see I. Vásáry, *Chancellery of the Golden Horde*, Budapest 1983 (in press). Otherwise for *ötüg* see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 51; Doerfer, *TMEN* II, Nr. 574.

[13] Clauson reads the word correctly as *ämildäš* (*EDT*, p. 160), but then erroneously amends it to *ämigdäš*. Fazylov and Zijaeva too give the word as *ämikdäš* (*Izyskannyj dar t jurkskomu jazyku*, Taškent 1978, p. 273). The correct reading is evidently with *lām*.

the treasury.»[14] Both Mamaq and Yanṣūfī must have been high dignitaries of the Crimean court. In the middle of the 16th century, during the reign of Ṣāḥib Giräy ḫān again we hear of foster-bothers, this time those of Emīn Giräy sulṭān: *Vä yanlarïnda sulṭānïng ämildäšläri, ḫāṣṣ nökärläri iki bing qadar adam qaldï.* «And the sultan's foster-brothers and personal servants remained round him, two thousand people altogether.»[15] Here foster-brothers occur in the company of personal servants, most probably their service was something like that of body guards.

In the History of Prince Kurbskij foster-brothers are mentioned in the Kazan Khanate. The term *imildeši* is explained as *mamiči, jaž byvajut pitaemi edinem soscom s carskim otročatem* «foster-brothers who are fed from the same nipples as the royal children».[16]

Foster-brothers were also known under the same name among the Nogays. Tïnbay murza, son of Ismail, the Nogay prince, in his letter of 1564 to Ivan Vasil'evič, the Russian sovereign, wrote that he had heard of Ivan's plan to lead a campaign against the Polish king and the Germans. He himself sent troops to help Ivan, under the leadership of Prince Mamay, who *velikoj u menja on čelovek. Da posle ego imildeš moj Bachty Keldi imildeš, a jaz s nim kormlen u odnich grudej. I oba oni u odnich grudej so mnoju kormleny. A u menja približennye oni ljudi. Jaz' sam izobrav poslal. Da Soltaj imildeš. I ty by tech dvu čelovek požaloval kak i menja.* «he is an important man of mine. After him [comes] my foster-brother Bachty Keldi imildeš, and I was fed from the same breast as he. And both of them were fed from the same breast as I. And they are my confidential men. I myself chose and sent them. And Soltaj imildeš. And grant [= treat] these two people [in the same degree] as me.»[17] Here the function of foster-brothers is clearly defined: they were confidants of the ruler entrusted with special tasks. *Emildäš* may also have denoted foster-sisters. The same Tïnbay murza, in his letter of 1565 to Ivan IV, mentioned his foster-sister: *moja imildešica Akčanoju zovut* «my foster-sister who is called Akčana».[18] The strange Turco-Russian hybrid word *imildešica* shows that the Tatar word for foster-brothers and foster-sisters was considered to be a technical term, consequently it was left untranslated by the Russians, but fitted into the system of Russian male and female nouns.

[14] G. F. Karpov, *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskoju ordami i Turciej* II, Spb. 1895, p. 286.

[15] Ö. Gökbilgin, *Tārīḫ-i Sāḥib Giray ḫān* (*Histoire de Sahib Giray, Khan de Crimée de 1532 à 1551*). Ankara 1973, p. 50. Gökbilgin reads the word as *ämäldäš* and interprets it erroneously as «compagnon d'idéal, fidèle, de *emel*» (pp. 189, 282).

[16] *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI—XVII vv.*, vypusk 6, Moscow 1979, p. 230.

[17] *Prodolženie Drevnej Rossijskoj Vivliofiki* XI, pp. 130—132 apud Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie II*, p. 439.

[18] *Prodolženie Drevnej Rossijskoj Vivliofiki* XI, p. 158 apud Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie* II, p. 440.

This rank and title survived in the Khanate of Kasimov. We owe to Qādir-ʿAlī-bek, the Tatar historian an eye-withess description of the enthronement of Uraz-Muḥammad, Khan of Kasimov in 1600: *barča uluġ vä kičik akābir, mulla vä kädḫudā-yi ahl-i islām-i ǰamāʿat ḫāḍir erdilär, duʿā vä ṣanā qïldïlar, vä qaračuwlarï, atalïq emildäšläri ḫān ḫaḍrätlärining üstünä nisārlar qïldïlar.* «all the great and small of notabilities, mollahs and stewards of the Islamic community were present, made prayers and praises, and His Majesty's *qaračuws* [= leaders of the most important clans], tutors and foster-brothers strewed money over Him.»[19]

In modern Turkic languages only Taranchi (*ämildäš*) and Turki (*imildaš*) have preserved this term.[20]

4. Although all data clearly show that the term *emildäš* was used mainly in the territory of J̌oči's *ulus* (i.e. the Crimea, Kazan, the Nogays, and Kasimov) it seems to have been known to a lesser extent in Chagatay's *ulus* as well. The only place where *emildäš* occurs in Chagatay texts is in the *Bāburnāmä*. Ḫusräv Šāh had Masʿūd Mïrza caught and *közläriġä ništar salïp kör qïldï. Bir nečä kökäldäš ämildäš vä bayrïsï Sulṭān Masʿūd Mïrzanï alïp ... Käšġa keldilär.* «blinded him by stabbing a lance into his eyes. Some of his foster-brothers and servants took Sulṭān Masʿūd Mïrza ... and went to Käš.»[21] The word *ämildäš* was misinterpreted several times by the translators of the *Bāburnāmä*. This was quite understandable as there are no other data for it in Chagatay texts, and the data referring to its use in J̌oči's *ulus* have been rather peripherically known in Turkology. E.g. Arat derives the word from a Chagatay *imil, imel* «saddle» which is of Mongol origin there (*emegel*), and translates *ämildäš* as «hempâ, arkadaş, eyerdaş».[22] This interpretation goes back to an old error of Pavet de Courteille and Şeyh Süleyman, and even the words of Arat

[19] Qādir-ʿAlī-bek wrote his historical work in 1602. The original title of the work is unknown, but it became known in the Russian literature as *Sbornik letopisej*, i.e. «Collection of Histories» since it was first edited by Berezin under this title. For the most part it is a translation of Rašīd ad-Dīn's Persian *J̌āmiʿ at-tawārīḫ*, but the last short passage of the work contains parts of source value, thus the enthronement of Uraz-Muḥammad cited above. For this detail see I. N. Berezin, *Sbornik letopisej. Istorija mongolo-tjurkov, na tatarskom jazyke*, Kazan' 1854, p. 168 and from there Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie* II, p. 407.

[20] For the Taranchi word see Radloff, *Wb.* I, pp. 957–958, for Turki *imildaš* see G. Jarring, *An Eastern Turki-English Dialect Dictionary*, Lund 1964, p. 140 and idem, *Wörterverzeichnis zu G. Raquettes Ausgabe von Täji bilä Zohra*, Lund 1967, p. 28. The Baraba *ämäldäš* «der Gefährte» (Radloff, *Wb.* I, p. 951) has nothing to do with the above words, it is a derivative of *ämäl* «deed» (< Arabic *ʿamal*), otherwise present also in Kazan Tatar, Taranchi, Crimean Tatar and Azeri (Radloff, *Wb.* I, p. 950).

[21] *Bábar-náma* 58b, 11. 3–5.

[22] R. R. Arat, *Gazi Zahirüddin Muhammed Babur Vekayi. Babur'un Hâtıratı* II, Ankara 1946, pp. 623–624.

are taken from Şeyh Süleyman. There really exists a Chagatay word *emäl* «saddle» attested in the *Sanglaḫ* that comes from Mongol *eme'el*, but this has nothing to do with Bābur's *ämildäš* or *emildäš* which is formed from *ämil*, *emil* «breast».[23] The phrase *kökäldäš ämildäš* is a binom here, both parts of which mean «foster-brother».

5. The term *kökäldäš*, similarly to *ämildäš*, has been misinterpreted several times. The main cause of errors was the existence of another Turkic word, similar both in form and meaning. There is a Turkic word *köngüldäš*, *köngültäš* meaning «an intimate friend», literally «comrade of heart». It is attested as early as Kāšġarī's *Dictionary* in the 11th century, and survives in modern languages as well, e.g. in Kazak and Kirgiz, and in Turkish as an obsolete word.[24] In Chagatay both *kökäldäš*, *kökältäš* «foster-brother» and *köngüldäš*, *köngültäš* «intimate friend» were well known, and the two words have often been confused by later researchers. However, it is easy to distinguish the two terms even if there is no hint as to the precise meaning of the word in a text: *kökäldäš* is always written with a medial *kāf*, and *köngüldäš* with *nūn* + *kāf*. This is valid, of course, only for Chagatay texts, in Ottoman only the word *köngüldäš* is known, which is written with a *kāf* in accordance with Ottoman orthographical rules.[25]

[23] In the *Sanglaḫ* (115r 4) we find *emäl* «bi-luġat-i moġūlī zīn bāšad ki ānrā bi-ʿarabī sarǰ nāmand», so it means «saddle». This Chagatay word of Mongol origin attested in the *Sanglaḫ* was taken over by Pavet de Courteille's dictionary (PdC, p. 137) and from there or directly from an epitome of the *Sanglaḫ* by Şeyh Süleyman's dictionary (ŞS, p. 61). On the other hand, Pavet de Courteille gives a word *emäldäš* «camarade de selle, compagnon» (*ibid.*). As he refers to the above treated place of the *Bāburnāmä* it becomes evident that he misinterpreted the word *ämildäš* «foster-brother» and erroneously linked it to the word *emäl* «saddle». Pavet de Courteille's error was repeated by Şeyh Süleyman (*ibid.*: *emäldäš* «hempâ, arkadaş, eğerdaş»).

[24] Kāšġarī: Wa min hāḏā yuqālu «*köngüldäš* (كُنْكُلْدَش)» ay muṣāḥibu'l-qalbi. Lianna'l-qalba ismuhu «*köngül* (كُنْكُل)» (Rif'at, vol. I, p. 341; Atalay, vol. I, p. 407). — Kazak *köŋildes ǰoldas* «dotnym nòchòr [intimate friend]» (*Kazach—mongol tol'*, Ulaanbaatar 1977, p. 158), *köŋüldös* «der Freund» (Radloff, *Wb.* II, p. 1239), Kirgiz *köŋüldöš* 1. «ljubjaščij; ljubimyj, vozljublennyj, vozljublennaja», 2. «intimnyj drug, blizkij serdcu čelovek» (*KiRS*, p. 424). Turkish *gönüldeş* (obsolete) «ródstvennye dúši; edinomýslenniki; ljúdi odinákovych želánij (vkúsov *i t. p.*)» (*TurRS*, p. 347); for the Old Ottoman data see *Tarama Sözlüğü* III, p. 1766.

[25] One of the most common errors is when *köngültäš* is interpreted as «foster-brother» (e.g. Radloff, *Wb.* II, p. 1238; Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy*, p. 37). Menges (*MMX*, p. 37) makes another error: he thinks that there is only one word in Chagatay for «foster-brother» and «intimate friend», namely *köŋültaš*, although in this case he cannot explain why the word كوكلتاش is written in «Ottoman orthography», i.e. with *kāf* to denote an *n*. Since he did not recognize the existence of the word *kökäldäš* he was compelled to suppose an absurd idea: this word must have been borrowed by Persian in a false pronunciation («hat das Neupersische die falsche Aussprache *kūkaltāš* (*-dāš*).»). For the Persian word *kūkaltāš* see further below.

In reality *kökäldäš* is a typical Turco-Mongolian hybrid word, its *-däš* formant being of Turkic, and the basic word *kökäl* of Mongol origin. It emerged in the 13th century in the realm of the Ilkhans. But first let us review the Mongol background of the word *kökäl*. In Mongol there is a common nomen-verbum: 1. *kökü(n)*, *köke(n)* (in Khalkha *chóch*) «female breast, nipples; udder» 2. *kökü-* (in Khalkha *chóchó-*) «to suck the breast».[26] In Ordos we can find *gö'kχö* «mamelle, pis, tétine, trayon; pénis des petits garçons; éminence arrondie à la surface d'un objet» and *gö'kχö-* «sucer le sein, la mamelle» and in Kalmuk *kökŋ* «zitzen, brüste» and *kökөχə*, *kökkө* «saugen».[27] In Classical Mongol there are a large number of derivatives of *kökü-*, so *kökübči* «underwaist; brassiere», *kökügil* «suckling», *kökügül-* «to suckle (caus. of *kökü-*), *kökügülge* «the act of suckling», *kökügüli* «suckling, sucker», *köküle* «the act of *kökü-*; nipple for feeding or pacifying babies». A «wet nurse» is expressed by *kökügülügsen eke* or *kökülte eke*.[28] Among the numerous derivatives we also find *kökel* 1. «rond, globe, peloton, boule», 2. «globuleux, sphérique, mis en peloton», 3. «mamelle».[29] Evidently the original meaning is «female breast», the meanings «circle, globe, ball» developed from that by transfer of meaning based on similarity.

The Mongol word *köken*, *kökün* and its family has a broader background in the Altaic languages. It is known in Jurchen (*hūh-hûn* «female breast») and in Manchu (*huhun* «breast»), and practically all Tungus languages know the word and many of its derivatives.[30] The same root forms the basis of the well-known Turkic word for «breast» *kögüz* and its variants.[31] It seems probable that another, equally well-known term for «breast, chest» *kökräk* is also a derivative of a **kök* root, like *kögüz*, however, one can only approve Clauson's opinion that «it is hard to see how it could be connected with *kögüz*».[32] At any rate, *kökräk* seems to be more wide-spread than *kögüz*, but in a few Turkic languages both forms can be found with practically the same meaning

[26] Lessing, p. 483; Kowalewski III, pp. 2624, 2627.

[27] H. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos* I, Peking 1941, p. 269; G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1935, p. 237. — Ramstedt proposed a possible connection of the Mongol words with Turkic *kök* «root, origin» and Ottoman *kökün* «fatherland, homeland». Ottoman *kökün* may be connected with *kök*, but the relationship between Mongol *kökü* and Turkic *kök* cannot be proved, because of semantic difficulties.

[28] Lessing, p. 483.

[29] Kowalewski III, p. 2626. In Kalmuk a form with *ü* is present: *kökül* «grudnój» (*Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1977, p. 313).

[30] W. Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, Leipzig 1896, p. 93; E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, Wiesbaden 1952—55, p. 461; *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskich jazykov* I, Leningrad 1975, pp. 254—255 under *uku* I

[31] For *kögüz* and its variants see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 714.

[32] Clauson, *EDT*, p. 712.

(Karaim K *kökräk, kökis*; Uzbek *kŭkrak, kŭks*; Turki *kökräk, köksä/kökäs*; Turkmen *kükräk, gövüs*).

As derivatives of *äm-/em-* could be supplied with the formant *-däš* for denoting «foster-brother» (*ämigdäš, ämčäktäš, ämildäš*) it can correctly be supposed that derivatives of the root **kök* could equally have served for forming nouns to denote the same term. But actually no **kökräktäš* or **kögüzdäš* can be pointed out, we have only one dubious word in the Kipchak vocabulary of the Leiden Anonymous, namely *kökürdäš*. The most plausible explanation for this word is that it comes from **köküräkdäš*, and the absence of *k* is either a dialectal phenomenon or, more probably a mere scribal error.[33]

On the other hand, we often find the form *kökäldäš* cited above from the *Bāburnāmä*. This word is formed of Mongol *kökel* «breast» + Turkic *-däš*. The word *kökel* itself was not taken over by Turkic, there is ony one piece of data for it from the *Sanglaḫ* (308r 8—9) where *kökäl* means «murḍi'a», i.e. a «wet-nurse». The word *kökel* never had this meaning in Mongol, consequently the meaning given by the *Sanglaḫ* can be only the result of a speculative abstraction from the meaning of the word *kökältäš*.[34] The word *kökältäš* is attested in almost all Chagatay dictionaries.[35]

The Chagatay word *kökältäš* entered into Persian. Navā'ī himself mentions in his *Muḥākamat al-luġatayn* that the Persians *kökältäšni türkčä til bilä derlär* «use the Turkic language for [saying] foster-brother».[36] Indeed, the word *kūkaltāš* is attested in Persian dictionaries,[37] moreover another word, *kūka* is also given for «foster-brother». To assess what this *kūka* may be, it is necessary to see the *Burhān-i Qāti'*, one of the best Persian dictionaries where three meanings are given for the word كوكه : 1. «an owl», 2. «foster-brother», 3. «a

[33] Kipchak *kökürdäš* (كوكُرْداش) «al-aḫ min al-riḍā'ati [foster-brother]» (M. Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, p. ٣٢, 7). Houtsma correctly thought (p. 100) that it has something to do woth *kökältäš*. Kuryšžanov (*Issledovanie po leksike starokypčakskogo pis'mennogo pamjatnika XIII v. — «Tjurksko-arabskogo slovarja»*, Alma-Ata 1970, p. 148) erroneously connected the word with Kazak *kökä* «elder brother». Clauson (*EDT*, p. 714) emended the word to **kögüzdäš*. This emendation is arbitrary, because the Kipchak equivalents of *kögüz* are always written and pronounced with *s* (Codex Cumanicus: *kögüs, kövüs*, Ibn Muhannā: *kögüs*, etc.), consequently the letter *rā* cannot be changed to *zā* in *kökürdäš*.

[34] *Kökältäš* (كوكلتاش) «birādar-i riḍā'ī», i.e. «foster-brother» (*Sanglaḫ* 308r 9—10). Şeyh Süleyman's *kökäl* «emdirici, süt verici, rizâ'e, mekîden, şîrhor, köke» (ŞS, p. 260) has no independent value, it goes back to the *Sanglaḫ*.

[35] In the *Abušqa*, in Pavet de Courteille, in Zenker, etc. — Şeyh Süleyman's *köktäš* «süt karındaş, zâ'î şîrhore» (ŞS, p. 260) must be a misprint for *kökältäš*.

[36] R. Devereux, *Muḥākamat al-luġhatain by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr*, Leiden 1966, p. ١٥, 3. Devereux (p. 18) erroneously interpreted the word as *köŋültaš*.

[37] Vullers II, p. 919; Steingass, p. 1063.

little round cake».[38] First of all we must distinguish two homophones here: the word for «owl» belongs to a group of onomatopoeic words, such as *kūkūh*, *kūkan*, *kūkanak*, all of them meaning «jug̊d», i.e. «owl».[39] As for the third meaning, it is very problematic, because there is a word *kōkä* in Turkmen having the same meaning.[40] The Persian word can be regarded as a loan word from Mongol or Turkic. In the latter case, Turkmen *kōkä* is presumably of Mongol origin. Although a Mongol *kökä* meaning «a little round cake» cannot be attested, the semantic development «circle, round object» → «a round cake» can well be imagined. Doerfer thinks that the Persian word is a direct borrowing from Mongol.[41] Be that as it may, the second meaning of Persian *kūka* must compulsorily be linked to Mongol. Doerfer is on the right track in supposing that originally the word must have meant only «breast».[42] I may add that the semantic development in Persian («breast» → «foster-brother») is analogous with that in Chagatay (*kökäl* «breast» → «wet-nurse» in the *Sanglaḫ*), namely in both cases the semantic shift must have taken place under the influence of the word *kökäldäš*. Whether Persian *kūka* «foster-brother» (and Chagatay *kökäl* «wet-nurse» treated above) were really existent, once living words or just book forms owing their existence to the speculation of scholarly lexicographers, cannot be deduced with any certainty. I lean towards the second possibility.

6. Having scrutinized the spread of the term *kökäldäš* it is possible to proceed to investigate the social role and function of these «foster-brothers» designated with the above term. They often crop up as confidants of the sovereign in the realm of the Ilkhans in the second half of the 13th century. In 1284, Toġay, the foster-brother of Aḥmad Täküdar is mentioned: *Baʿd az ān ʿAlīnāq ba Yasār-oġul va Toġay kūkaltāš-i Aḥmad bi-manqalāy az Qazvīn ravān šud* «Then ʿAlīnāq, together with Yasār-oġul and Toġay, Aḥmad's

[38] Persian *kūka* «bi-maʿnā-yi kūkūh ast ki jug̊d bāšad, va ān parandä īst manḫūs, va bi-turkī birādar-i riḍāʿī-rā gūyand yaʿnī dar ṭiflī bā ham šīr ḫurdä bāšad, va qurṣ-i nān-i kūčik-rā ham mīgūyand» (*Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ*, Tihrān 1341, p. 968). The same can be found in the 18—19th-century Ottoman translation of the *Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ* (*Tarama Sözlüğü* IV, p. 2767).

[39] Vullers II, p. 919; Steingass, p. 1063. The Persian words have been borrowed by Ottoman: *kûken*, *kûke* «the white owl, barn owl, screech owl, *stryx flammea*» (Redhouse, p. 1599).

[40] Turkmen *kōkä* 1. «kolobók (nebol'šaja kruglaja lepëška, kotoruju pekut v tamdyre dlja detej)», 2. «pečén'e» (*TurkmRS*, p. 412). It is doubtful whether a word *küke* «küçük ekmek» really existed in old Ottoman (*Tarama Sözlüğü* IV, p. 2767), because the only reference given is the Ottoman translation of the *Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ* (see note 38 above).

[41] Doerfer, *TMEN* I, No. 344 (p. 482).

[42] *Ibidem*.

foster-brother left Qazvīn as vanguard.»[43] In the same year when Arġun was in prison, one of his men, Buqa amīr, wanted to release him: *Baʿd az ān amīr Bōrāliġū-rā kī kūkaldāš-i Arġūn būd bi-hamīn maslaḥat bi-ḫidmat-i ū firistād.* «Then the *amīr* [i.e. Buqa] sent Boraliġu, who was Arġun's foster-brother, to his service in the same matter.»[44] In 1291, after Arġun's death envoys were sent to the royal princes to inform them: *va rūz-i dīgar Tāytāq pisar-i Qūbāy-nōyān[-rā] kī kūkaltāš-i Abāqā-ḫān būd va ū amīr-i ōrdū-yi Aḥmad bi-ǰānib-i Baġdād ravānā gardānīdand bi-ṭalab-i šahzādā Bāydū.* «the next day Taytaq, son of Qubay-noyan who was Abaġa-ḫān's foster-brother and the leader of Aḥmad's camp, was sent to Baghdad for the royal prince Baydu.»[45] In 1297, it was reported to Ġāzān-ḫān that the rebellion of Amīr Nawrūz had been put down by Amīr Qutluġ-šāh: *čūn bi-Nawšahr rasīd īlčiyān bašārat āvardand az pīš-i Qutluġ-Šāh kī Nawrūz ǰang kard va munhazim šud va Būrilǰa kūkaltāš-i Ṭōġānǰūq-rā āvard.* «When he [i.e. Ġāzān] arrived at Nawšahr, the envoys of Qutluġ-šāh brought the good news that Nawrūz had offered battle and had been put to flight, and he [i.e. Qutluġ-šāh] took Būrilǰa, the foster-brother [or foster-sister?] of Toġančuq [with him].»[46]

Foster-brotherhood was also known in the Chagatay *ulus*. In the 14th century, Ḥiḍīr-Ḫoǰa ḫān, son of Tuġluq-Temür fled from Kāšġar at the age of twelve. There were different kinds of people in his retinue including one who «was of the tribe of Čališ Sayyadī; and his sons also became *amīrs*, with the style (*lakab*) of *quščï*, but they are also called *kökäldäš*.»[47] Ḥaydar Mïrza, in his *Taʾrīh-i Rašīdī*, mentions many persons whose rank was *kökäldäš* (all data refer to the first third of the 16th century): Šāh-Dānä *kökäldäš*, state minister of Mïrza Abū Bakr; Allāh Qulï *k.*, an old Mongol *amīr*; Amïr Qanbar *k.*, the province of Nubra in Tibet was entrusted to him; Ḫuš Rāʾï *k.*, an *amīr* of the author's father, Mïrza Muḥammad Ḥusayn Qurkān; Ḫuš-kildi *k.*, leader of a military division.[48] It is interesting to quote what Ḥaydar Mïrza wrote about them: «There remained with me more than a hundred men; these were all brave soldiers or commanders of battalions, whose service was hereditary, who had often distinguished themselves in battle, and had won *yuldus*; each one also had been born to the title of *amīr*. Some of them were

[43] Alizade, p. 179; for Arends' Russian translation see p. 106.

[44] Alizade, p. 187; for Arends' Russian translation see p. 111.

[45] Alizade, p. 227; for Arends' Russian translation see p. 130.

[46] Alizade, p. 318; for Arends' Russian translation see pp. 178—179. In Arends' translation «Buluče [i.e. Burilǰa] privel moločnogo brata Tugačuk». To my mind it was Qutluġ-šāh who took Burilǰa, the foster-brother or foster-sister of Toġančuq, daughter of Abaġa-ḫān and wife of Nawrūz. We have no other data concerning Burilǰa.

[47] Elias—Ross, pp. 51—52. The translators of Ḥaydar Mïrza's work give *Kukildásh*, which normally must be read as *kökäldäš*.

[48] Elias—Ross, pp. 319, 321; p. 307; p. 422; p. 165; pp. 185, 187.

my [foster-]brothers, and were called *kökäldäš*; from these I had no reason to expect opposition.»[49]

Foster-brothers played a prominent role in the society of the Timurid state as well. ʿAlā'u'd-Dīn ʿAlīka kūkaltāš was an army commander in Khorasan at the beginning of the 15th century.[50] Amīr Šāh-Malik was a commander with wide influence during Timur's and his son Šāhruḫ's reign. His family was connected with the ancestors of Timur by being born together (*hamzādī*) and being foster-brothers (*kūkaltāšī*).[51] From this remark it becomes apparent that certain distinguished families were traditionally linked with the quasi-kinship relationship of foster-brotherhood, i.e. children of the same age of both families were fed by the same wet-nurse. So not only the son or daughter of the wet-nurse was a *kökäldäš* but two high-born children could become each other's *kökäldäš* by the fact that they had a common wet-nurse. The connection of foster-brothers was always life-long, those lower in rank served the most distinguished of them as confidants. In another place in Šams al-Ḥusn's historical work we learn that the most characteristic feature of a foster-brother was his unconditional loyalty and devotion to his lord. Šāhruḫ, when apprehending Saʿīd Ḫoǰa for falsifying a diploma, mentioned that he [S. Ḫ.] was one of the compassionate loyal clients and agreeable foster-brothers (*muḫliṣān-i mušfiq wa kūkaltāšān-i muwāfiq*).[52]

Ḫondamīr reports that Mīr ʿAlī Šīr Navā'ī's family was connected with the descendants of the Timurid ʿUmar-šayḫ by foster-brotherhood (*kūkaltāšī*).[53] According to Marwārīd, Mīr ʿAlī Šīr and Ḥusayn Bayqara, the famous Timurid ruler were foster-brothers.[54]

In the Aḥsan at-tawārīḫ in 905/1500 a certain Amīr Muḥammad Qāsim, alias Muḥammad kūkaltāš is mentioned as the confidant of Ḥusayn Mīrzā, son of Ḥusayn Bayqara.[55] In 913/150 we hear of a Qanbar Mīrzā kūkaltāš who was in the service of Ḫurramšāh Sulṭān, sister of Bābur.[56]

[49] Elias—Ross, p. 459.

[50] J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVe siècle. Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran timouride*, Wiesbaden 1956, pp. 42, 44 (n. 2). Aubin committed the well-known error, he interpreted the word as *göŋültāš* (sic!).

[51] Roemer, *Šams al-Ḥusn*, p. 69 (93a).

[52] Roemer, *Šams al-Ḥusn*, p. 77 (103a—b). Roemer erroneously derived the word from *köŋültaš* (p. 69, n. 3) as so many did before him.

[53] Ḫondamīr, ed. of Bombay, vol. III³, p. 217 apud V. V. Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Šir i političeskaja žizn'*: *Sočinenija* II/2, Moscow 1964, p. 212. Barthold does not take a stand whether this word (*kūkaltāšī*) is to be explained from *köŋültaš*, he only stresses that it was always rendered with a medial *kāf*.

[54] H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit. Das Šaraf-nāmä des ʿAbdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*, Wiesbaden 1952, pp. 72 (43b, 10), 96 (27b, 6).

[55] Seddon I, p. $40_{15,\ 17}$; II, p. 17 (English translation).

[56] Seddon I, p. 100_{14}; II, p. 45 (English translation).

Bābur often speaks of foster-brothers and foster-sisters in his work. It is sufficient here to mention one of their number. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrza's foster-brother was Töläk kökältäš: *Mïrza-ḫānnïng kökäldäši Töläk-kökältäš ekändür.*[57] This example indicates that the term *kökäldäš* or *kökältäš* became a constant part of names directly referring to the high rank of its bearer.

In 16th-century Transoxiana under Shaybanid rule, *kökältäš* was a well-known title attached to names.[58] One of the monuments in Samarkand was the ʿAlīka Kūkaltāš medrese whose founder lived in the 16th century.[59] One of the best commanders of the Shaybanid ruler ʿAbdullāh II (1583—1598) who-after the seizure of Khorasan became governor of Herat, was Mīr Qul-baba kökältäš. The Persian historical work *Ta'rīh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* gives a clear-cut picture of foster-brotherhood in connection with this person: «He was a Samarkandī by birth, and his mother had been a wet nurse to the infant ʿAbdullāh Khan. According to Uzbek and Chagatay customary law, a foster brother is called *kökältäš*, and so Mīr Qul-baba became the *kökältäš* of ʿAbdullāh Khan.»[60] This description makes it evident that foster-brotherhood was a living institution at that time the roots of which can be traced back to tribal existence. On the other hand, it proved to be an effective means of social advancement, in other words, it was one of the few cases when social mobility could prevail.

The *kökältäš* as a high dignitary survived in the 17th century in the Khanate of Bokhara. A treatise on the dignitaries and rank-holders of the Court of Bokhara stated: «There are four more offices, namely [those of] the preacher (*vāʿiẓ*), the small *kökältäš* (*kūkaltāš-i ḫurd*), the *yasāvul-maḥram*, and the night-watchman (*tun-qatar*).»[61] Unfortunately nothing is reported about the tasks of these persons, since their duties were assumed to be well-known.

7. In sum, foster-brotherhood, a quasi-kinship relationship of societies on a tribal level, became institutionalized to a certain extent in the Mongol Empire of the 13th century and its successor states. Foster-brothers and foster-sisters of the khan's family and the high-born lords became confidants of

[57] *Bábar-náma*, f. 199b, 1—3. Other places of the *Bāburnāmā* where foster-brothers are mentioned: ff. 20b, 1—2; 25b, 12—26a, 2; 91b, 13—14.

[58] E.g. in 1546 Amīr Muḥammadī Kūkaltāš (Čechovič, *Sam. dok.*, pp. 618, 337, 367), Amīr Niẓām ad-Dīn Anāġ Kūkaltāš (Čechovič, *Sam. dok.*, pp. 615, 334, 363).

[59] Čechovič, *Sam. dok.*, p. 386, n. 49.

[60] R. M. Savory, *History of Shah ʿAbbas the Great (Tārīḵ-e ʿĀlamārā-ye ʿAbbāsī) by Eskandar Beg Monshi*, Boulder, Colorado 1978, vol. II, p. 735. Other places referring to the same person are pp. 691, 706, 727, 729, 731, 734.

[61] A. B. Vil'danova, *Podlinnik Bucharskogo traktata o činach i zvanijach*: *Pis'mennye pamjatniki vostoka* 1968 (Moscow 1970), pp. 62 (95b, 10), 44 (Russian translation).

their high-born «brothers» or «sisters». On the western parts of the Mongol Empire: in the Crimea, Kazan, Kasimov, and the Nogay Horde the pure Turkic term *emildäš* was used to that purpose, whereas in Hülegid Iran, in the Chagatay *ulus*, in the Timurid state, in Shaybanid Transoxiana, and in Janid Bokhara the Turco-Mongol hybrid term *kökäldäš* predominated.

Abbreviations

Alizade	A. A. Alizade, ed., *Fazlullach Rašid-ad-din, Džami-at-tavarich (Sbornik letopisej)*, tom III, Baku 1957.
Atalay	B. Atalay, *Divanü luğat-it-türk tercümesi* I–III, Ankara 1939–1941.
Bábar-náma	A. Beveridge, *Bábar-náma*, London 1922.
Brockelmann, *OTG*	C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1954.
Clauson, *EDT*	Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.
Čechovič, *Sam. dok.*	O. D. Čechovič, *Samarkandskie dokumenty XV–XVI* vv., Moscow 1974.
Doerfer, *TMEN*	G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* I–IV, Wiesbaden 1963–1975.
Elias–Ross	N. Elias–E. Denison Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlát. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London 1895.
Gabain, *ATG*	A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1950.
KiRS	*Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1965.
Kowalewski	O. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-française* I–III, Kazan 1844–1849.
KuRS	*Kumyksko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1969.
Lessing	F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1960.
Menges, *MMX*	K. H. Menges, *Das Čayatajische in der persischen Darstellung von Mīrzā Mahdī Xān*, Mainz 1956.
PdC	A. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-oriental*, Paris 1870.
Radloff, *Wb.*	W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* I–IV, Spb. 1893–1911.
Redhouse	J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople 1890.
Rif'at	Ahmet Rif'at, *Kitāb-i Dīwān luğat at-turk* I–III, İstanbul 1333–1335/1914–1916.
RKaS	*Russko-karakalpakskij slovar'*, Moscow 1968.
Roemer, *Šams al-ḥusn*	H. R. Roemer, *Šams al-ḥusn. Eine Chronik vom Tode Timurs bis zum Jahre 1409 von Tāǧ as-Salmānī*, Wiesbaden 1956.
Seddon	C. N. Seddon, *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū* I–II, Baroda 1931, 1936.
Sevortjan, *ÈS*	È. V. Sevortjan, *Èтimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskich jazykov* I–III, Moscow 1974, 1978, 1980.

Steingass	F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1892.
ŞS	Şeyh Süleyman efendi, *Luğat-i Çağatay wa Turkī-yi ʿUṣmānī*, İstanbul 1298/1881.
Tarama Sözlüğü	*XIII. yüzıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklariyle tarama sözlüğü* I—VII, Ankara 1963—1974.
TaRS	*Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1966.
TurkmRS	*Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1968.
TurRS	*Turecko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1977.
TuRS	*Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1968.
UzRS	*Uzbeksko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow 1959.
Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie*	V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskich carjach i carjevičach* I—IV, Spb. 1863—1887.
Vullers	J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum etymologicum* I—II, Bonnae 1855—1864.
Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy*	A. Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy imienne i czasownikowe w języku zachodniokaraimskim*, Kraków 1932.

VII

THE ORIGIN OF THE INSTITUTION OF *BASQAQ*S

Dedicated to N. A. Baskakov

1. Recently I have tried to elucidate a few aspects of the Golden Horde term *daruġa* and its survival in mediaeval Russia.[1] Since then I have been involved in a question pertaining to another important dignitary of the Golden Horde and also of other Mongolian successor states, the *basqaq* who was seemingly closely connected with *daruġa*. It is evident that *basqaq* and *daruġa* have been formed from the same word meaning «to press», the one on the Turkic soil (*bas-*), the other on the Mongolian (*daru-*). But are they independent of each other or are they loan translations, and if so, which is the original, Turkic *basqaq*, or Mongolian *daruġa*? Was there any difference in function between them, or are they interchangeable? In the following presentation I shall attempt to answer these questions.

The opinion that *basqaq* and *daruġa* had slightly different functions, has deep roots in Russian scholarly literature. Berezin[2] was the first to state that *basqaq*s were officials, representatives of the Khan o n l y in the conquered and subjugated lands. Their duty was to take census of the population and to control taxation, while *daruġa*s were dignitaries dealing with administration in general. That is why, in Berezin's opinion, *basqaq*s do not occur in the Golden Horde yarliks, but they are frequently found in the Russian annals. Sablukov, Nasonov and Zimin held the same opinion.[3] In Nasonov's opinion the *basqaq*s' task was the inner «protection» (*ochranenie*) of the subjugated lands. They supported the tax-collectors, the *daruġa*s with their armed retinues. At any rate, *basqaq*s were to be frequently found in Russia up to the beginning of the 14th century. Owing to the popular movements in North-east Russia, the institution of the hated *basqaq*s was abolished in the 1320s. They ceased to be mentioned from that time onwards in Russia; their task, the collection of taxes had been

[1] Published in *AOH* XXX (1976), pp. 187–197.

[2] I. N. Berezin, *Chanskie jarlyki* II, Kazan 1850, p. 43, n. 43; idem, *Očerk vnutrennego ustrojstva ulusa Džučieva*, pp. 452–453.

[3] G. S. Sablukov, *Očerk vnutrennego sostojanija Kipčakskogo Carstva*, Kazan 1895, p. 8; A. N. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus'. Istorija tatarskoj politiki na Rusi*, Moscow–Leningrad 1940, passim; A. A. Zimin in *Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, Moscow 1955, p. 476.

taken over by the local Russian princes.[4] The same opinion as that of the Russian and Soviet historians concerning the different functions of *basqaq* and *daruġa* is maintained by Spuler in his *Goldene Horde*.[5]

In order to be able to solve this question, we must first turn to the etymology of the words and then to investigate the territorial distribution of these dignitaries. There can be no dispute over the origin of the words — as I have mentioned — both are derived from the verb «to press» (Turkic *bas-*, Mongolian *daru-*). But the interpretation of the exact meaning of this word «to press» presents difficulties. According to the general view, *basqaq*s and *daruġa*s were «oppressors», because they sat on and oppressed the population. Nevertheless, it is not very credible that people would describe such officials as «oppressors», at least not in the official language. It was Pelliot[6] who suggested that *bas-* and *daru-* respectively have the meaning «apposer (un sceau) [to affix (a seal)]». He then refers to glosses of the Yüan period which give the explanation that *daruġači*s kept the seals, therefore they were the sealkeepers. I think that this contemporary interpretation of *daruġa*, is a later exegesis of the word, since *daruġa*s, as officials might really have had seals, for the confirmation of state documents in Yüan-China. But if we look for this meaning of the word in Turkic, our experience will be extremely limited. The expression *tamġanï bas-* «to affix a seal» occurs only once in an Uyghur juridical document: *tamġalarïmïznï basïp bertimiz* «we have affixed our seal (to it)».[7] In Armeno-Kipchak the expression *mohur basdïr-* «to have a seal affixed» occurs.[8] Otherwise, it is quite obvious that the affixing of a seal requires the act of p r e s s i n g (*bas-*, *daru-*). The names of the seal-keepers are generally formed from the name of the seal, thus in different Turkic languages it is *tamgači*, *nišančï*, and *mühürdar*. In addition, the affixing of a seal was the duty of a separate state official: the *nišančï* and *tamgačï*, and not that of the *basqaq*s or *daruġa*s. Consequently, forms such as *basqaq* or *daruġa* probably should not be interpreted as «seal-keepers».

If a *basqaq* was not an «oppressor» and not a «seal-keeper», what was he? The key to the proper interpretation can be found in Karakhanid texts, i.e. in the *Qutadġu Bilig*. There the original meaning of *bas-* «to press» was

[4] A. A. Zimin, *Narodnye dviženija 20-ch godov XIV veka i likvidacija sistemy baskačestva v Severo-vostočnoj Rusi*: *Izvestija AN SSSR*, serija istorii i fil., IX (1952), pp. 61—65; *Sovetskaja Istoričeskaja Ênciklopedija* 2 (Moscow 1962), p. 154.

[5] B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland 1223—1502*, Leipzig 1943, p. 303.

[6] P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, p. 73, n.

[7] W. Radloff—S. Malov, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Leningrad 1928, p. 28 (document 21, lines 10—11). The same in *DTS*, p. 85.

[8] E. Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak* I/1, Warszawa 1968, p. 115.

developed in two directions. True, it may mean «to oppress» as in the derivative *basïmčï* «oppressor, tyrant»,[9] but it may have had another meaning to which no attention has hitherto been paid, and that is «to govern, to direct». E.g. in the sentence: *qaläm b i r l ä bastï ol el b a s ġ u č ï* «the governor of the people governed it (the people) with (the help of) a pen», the *el basġučï* «governor of the people» governs or directs (*bas-*) his people.[10] It is impossible to forget Mengü-Temir's yarlik to the Russian priesthood dated 1267 in which he addressed himself to the *ljud'skym baskakom*, i.e. to the «*basqaq*s of the people».[11] The Russian translation *ljud'skoj baskak* merely gives the Turkic *el basqaq*. *El basqaq* of the Golden Horde is the same as *el basġučï* of the Karakhanid state. The only difference may be that *el basġučï* is a looser term than *el basqaq*.[12] This opinion is corroborated by the data of the *Codex Cumanicus* where the Latin interpretation *rector* is given for *basqaq*,[13] i.e. it refers again to the idea of d i r e c t i n g or g o v e r n i n g. The same idea can be detected from an interesting sentence of Quṭb's *Ḫusräv u Šïrïn*, a typical monument of the literary language of the Golden Horde: *alïb süt-tek elingä aj tarġaq, qïlïb tarġaqnï elči elni basqaq* «she took in her snow-white (*lit.* as milk) hands the ivory comb, and made an envoy of the comb, and *basqaq* of her hands».[14] Again the idea of d i r e c t i n g can be observed.

2. After defining the original meaning of *basqaq* as «governor», an attempt can be made to try to find out where the institution of *basqaq*s «governors» first originated. Investigations lead to the Karakhanids of the 11th century, but only the term *basġučï* could be attested, which is another derivation of *bas-*. But it seems we have another source at our disposal, according to which *basqaq* existed at the Karakhanids before the Mongol period. The Yüan shih and other Chinese sources connected with it are in question. In 1217, Djebe (Chê-pieh 者別), Chingis' famous general arrived at the Chu river (Ch'ui 垂) during his western campaign against the Naiman Güčülüg (Ch'ü-ch'u-lü

[9] See QB 134_6: *qayusï basïmčï ölütči qiruq* 'drugie (sredi ljudej) — ugnetateli, ubijcy, razoriteli' (*DTS*, p. 85).

[10] QB 131_8 in *DTS*, p. 85. Another example for *basïl-* passive form of *bas-* 'to govern' in the QB 201_9: *qaläm birlä baslïr qalï bassa el* 'if the country must be governed, it is governed by pen'.

[11] . . . Mengu-temer'vo slovo *ljud'skym baskakom* i knjazem i pol''čnym knjazem . . . (*Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, p. 467).

[12] Besides *el basγučï* and *el basqaq*, a third form can be attested in the personal name *El-Basar*, the bearer of which was Toqtai's son (Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, p. 72). For Turkic personal names containing the verb *bas-* see L. Rásonyi, *Contributions à l'histoire des premières cristallisations d'état des Roumains. L'origine des Basaraba*, Budapest 1936, pp. 29—31.

[13] Latin *rector*, Persian *saana*, Turkic *baskac* (ed. Kuun, p. 49).

[14] A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka* Ḫusräv u Šïrïn *Quṭba* III, Warszawa 1961, p. 172; E. Fazylov, *Starouzbekskij jazyk* I, Tashkent 1966, p. 189.

屈出律). Ho-ssŭ-mai-li (曷思麥里 a Chinese transcription of the Muslim name Ismail), who was the imperial close attendant of Chih-lu-ku 直魯古 the last Karakitan sovereign, paid homage to Djebe who appointed him vanguard-general. At that time Ho-ssŭ-mai-li was the *pa-ssŭ-ha* 八思哈 of the city of K'o-san 可散. Then the village heads, responding to Ho-ssŭ-mai-li's appeal, killed the usurper's (i.e. Güčülüg's) garrison soldiers, and Güčülüg fled to the west.[15] The Chinese transcription *pa-ssŭ-ha* 八思哈 obviously renders Turkic *basqaq*. K'o-san is identical with Kāsān, a city in Fergana, between Samarkand and Balasaġun.[16] It means that on Karakitan territory, which formerly belonged to the Karakhanids, but even in Karakitan times preserved its Turkic character, there were *basqaq*s before the Mongols conquered the Karakitans. In this former Karakhanid territory the Karakitans did not change the local administration, but merely controlled the fiscal obligations of the population. This Karakitan representative of the Gurkhan's power may well have been called *basqaq* according to the local Turkic terminology. In Chinese these officials were called *chien-kuo* 監國 «state supervisor» and *shao-chien* 婆監 «junior supervisor».[17]

But there are other important data of Juwaini that clearly show that *basqaq*s were known in other Turkic Karakhanid territories, especially in Transoxiana before the Mongol conquest. After the siege of Bokhara, Chingis went outside the town, to the *muṣalla*, the place of prayer. There he spoke to the rich and «asked them who were their men of authority, and each man indicated his own people. To each of them he assigned a Mongol or Turk as *basqaq*, in order that the soldiers might not molest them, and although not subjecting them to disgrace or humiliation, they began to exact money from these men.»[18] *Basqaq* is here the representative of the sovereign, a sort of «supervisor», in charge of the tax control.

There was also a *basqaq* in Bokhara. «After the capture of Samarqand Chingis-Khan appointed Tausha (Tusha? Tosha?) *basqaq* to the command and governorship of the district of Bokhara.»[19] In the narration of Chingis' campaign in Turkestan, a certain Tört-aba is often mentioned. He was related to the mother of Mohamed, the Khwaresmshah. Later this Tört-aba was appointed the *šaḥna* of Samarkand, and at another time he was called the *basqaq* of Samarkand.[20]

From this example and from the data of the *Codex Cumanicus* (see above) it is evident that the Persian equivalent of *basqaq* was *šaḥna*, *šiḥna*. In Persian

[15] Yüan shih 120, 15b; cf. K. Wittfogel—Feng Chia-sheng, *Chinese Society Liao*, p. 653.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 666.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 666.

[18] J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror* I, Manchester 1958, pp. 104—105.

[19] Boyle, *op. cit.* I, p. 107.

[20] Boyle, *op. cit.* I, pp. 343, 349, 351.

territories, *šiḫna* was the same as *basqaq* in the Turkic ones. What do we know about *šiḫnas*? The institution of *šiḫnas* was an innovation of the Seljuks in Persia. The *šurta*, the former police of the Muslim cities, was replaced by regular Turkic garrisons the chief of whom was called *šiḫna*.[21] Bearing in mind the close contact of the Seljuks with the Karakhanids in their earlier history (e.g. they supported the Karakhanids in the siege of Bokhara at the end of the loth century), the temptation cannot be resisted to state that the Seljuks were acquainted with the institution of *basqaq*s among the Karakhanids, and transplanted it to Persian soil, replacing their own Turkic word, the *basqaq* by Persian *šiḫna*.

Summing up my view concerning the origin of *basqaq*s, I think that the birthplace of this institution was the Karakhanid Empire of the 11th century. The Seljuks had taken over this institution, calling it in Persian *šiḫna*. During the Karakitan and Khwaresmian era, i.e. in the second half of the 12th century *basqaq*s or *šiḫnas* survived intact on the Turkic and Iranian territories of these empires.

The Mongol term *daruġači* (Chinese *ta-lu-hua-ch'ih* 達魯花赤) meaning similarly «governor» cropped up for the first time in 1221. At Almalīġ Ch'ang Ch'un the Taoist sage was greeted by the native ruler of the town and by a Mongol *daruġači*.[22] In 1223, during the Mongols'western campaign, *darugači*s were appointed to govern the conquered realms.[23] To my mind it is not accidental that the first occurrences of *daruġa*s were related to former Karakitan and Karakhanid territories. During the great western campaign between 1219—1225, the Mongols came into contact with more civilized territories, especially in Transoxiana for the first time in their history. Here they have probably taken over the Turkic institution of *basqaq*s and created a loantranslation in Mongolian: *daruġa*. It became the general Mongol term for governors in the subjugated lands, as later in Yüan-China. The existence of these administrative chiefs or governors became an urgent need only when the Mongol Empire extended beyond its natural boundaries (the nomadic primordial habitat of the Mongolian plateau), and, through conquest, foreign civilized territories and towns had to be attached to the Empire and organized. The pattern for this was provided in the former Karakitan, Karakhanid and Seljuk territories. From the Mongol period onwards no functional divergency can be detected between *basqaq*, *šiḫna* and *daruġa*. Although differing in origin, the Mongols unified their usage. In the 13th century, *basqaq*, *šiḫna* and *daruġa* were interchangeable, and only a certain territorial distribution can be observed. In China, only

[21] C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London, 1968, p. 41.

[22] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches, from Eastern Asiatic Sources* I, London 1910, p. 70.

[23] *Secret History of the Mongols*, §§ 263, 274.

daruġa(*či*)s occurred, while in the western parts of the Mongol Empire the original terms *basqaq* and *šiḥna* were also retained for some time. But from the 14th century onwards, both *basqaq* and *šiḥna* disappeared, and only the term *daruġa* was used from Yüan-China as far as the Ilkhanid Persia and the Golden Horde. Mongolian *daruġa* «oppressed» or superseded Turkic *basqaq* even on Turkic territories. In the Golden Horde and early Crimean yarliks only *daruġa*s occur, and by Timurid times *daruġa* had also suppressed *šiḥna* on Iranian soil. This may serve as a typical phenomenon of social imitation: when the ruling Mongol layers of the society call a dignitary *daruġa*, then the title *daruġa* gains an air of elegance which contrasts with the native Turkic term *basqaq*. In addition, this one concrete example of *basqaq* and *daruġa* may illustrate the process within the framework of which hundreds and thousands of Mongolian words entered into various languages of Inner Asia in the post-Mongol period. This linguistic aspect of the Mongol conquest reflects the real changes of society, and cannot be appropriately interpreted without the historical and social background of the age.

VIII

SUSUN AND *SÜSÜN* IN MIDDLE TURKIC TEXTS

There is a word in Middle Turkic texts written nearly always سو سو ن in the Arabic script. Concerning its reading, interpretation, and possible connections, a great deal of uncertainty prevails. The best course to begin with seems to be quoting the corresponding entry-word in Zajączkowski's *Ḫusräv u Šīrīn*, because it introduces us to most problems concerning the word:

> «*süsün* (susun? ms. سو سو ن) 'napój, wino', 50 *qylurlar kök jaš üzrä al süsün nūš* 'piją napój (wino) szkarłatny na zielonej murawie', 51 *süsün kältürdi sāqī* 'wino przyniósł podczaszy', 80 *ičär süsün välīkän jer ḥasrät* 'popija wino, ale zajada tęsknotę', 106 s. v. *quḏ-*, 143 s. v. *äsrüklük*, 184 *tamarlanyŋγa* [r: *tamarlaryŋγa*, I. V.] *toldur 'yšq süsini* 'napełnij swe żyły napojem miłości'. CCum. *susun* 'Getränk', Kar. Mard. *suwsun* 'Getränk', cf. ATGr. *suwsuš* 'Getränk', mong. *süsün*?, cf. MAdab mong. *susun* 'крахмал'.»[1]

As can be seen, the reading is doubtful (*süsün* or *susun*) and the given Mongolian parallel is unclear. Before looking for other Middle Turkic examples, let us examine the data of the modern Turkic languages, as they considerably exceed Zajączkowski's one Karaim word.

Karaim of Troki and Halič *suwsun* 1. «napitok | napój» 2. «vino | wino» (*Kar.-russko-pol'skij slov.* 1974, p. 482); Karachay-Balkar *suusun* «žídkij» (*Russko-kar.-balk. slov.* 1965, p. 164); Nogay *suwsïn* 1. «žážda» 2. «napítok» 3. «kísloe molokó, razbávlennoe vodój (prochladitel'nyj napitok)» (*Nog.-russ. slov.* 1963, p. 311); Kazak *susun* 1. «der Durst» 2. «Alles, womit man den Durst löschen kann, der Trunk» (Radloff, *Wb.* IV, c. 783); Kirgiz *suusun* 1. «žažda» 2. «pit'ë (to, čto prednaznačeno dlja utolenija žaždy)» (Judachin, *Kirg.-russ.*

[1] Zajączkowski, *ḪŠ* III, p. 163. Further occurences of the word in the *Ḫusräv u Šīrīn* can be found under the entry-words *äsrüklük* (p. 22), *quḏ-* (p. 142), *quj-* (p. 143). — Fazylov reads *süsün* too, and adds the following data: «CC *süsün*, *süvsün* 'напиток'; ATG *süvsün* 'напиток'» (*Starouzbekskij jazyk* II, p. 316). The word *süvsün* quoted from Gabain's *Alttürkische Grammatik* is merely F.'s ghost-word, it does not exist there.

slov. 1965, p. 668); Kazan Tatar *susïn* «žážda» (*Tat.-russ. slov.* 1966, p. 491)[2]; Bashkir *hïwhïn* «žážda» (*Bašk.-russ. slov.* 1958, p. 648); Southern Bashkir dialects (Böryen, Eyek) *hïwhïn* «höt öϑtälgän yäš qïmïð — svežij kumys» (*Basqort höyläšterenең hüðlege*, vol. II, Öfö 1970, pp. 297, 288; under *hawmal* too); Tuvan *suksun* 1. «napítok» 2. «žážda» (*Tuv.-russ. slov.* 1968, p. 390). — Kirgiz *suusunduq* is a nominal derivative of *suusun* «pit'ë (to, čto prednaznačeno dlja utolenija žaždy)» (Judachin, *Kirg.-russ. slov.* 1965, p. 668), and verbal derivatives exist too: Kazak *susunda-* «einen Trunk zu sich nehmen», Tuvan *suksunnaar* (*suksunna-*) «pit', utolját' žážду» (*Tuv.-russ. slov.* 1968, p. 390).

The following meanings of the word *suwsun* can be established: 1. «thirst» 2. «drink, beverage» 3. «wine» 4. «wet» 5. «buttermilk, curdled milk, fresh koumiss». In the 5. meaning it may evidently designate different sorts of watery dairy-products. Almost all of these meanings can be attested in various Old Turkic derivatives of the word *suw* «water». *Suw* had the meaning «drink, juice» already in Uyghur,[3] the Kipchak form *suwuq, suwïq* in Kāšγarī means «flüssig, dünn (auch vom Schwanz)»,[4] and *suwsuš* in Kāšγarī means 1. «vodjanistyj otstoj buzy» 2. «ajran, razbavlennyj vodoj».[5]

The word *suwsun* itself is a nominal derivative of *suw* «water» common to practically all Turkic languages, but this form in *-sun* occurs only in a couple of Kipchak languages and in Tuvan. The suffix *-sun* seems to be a very rare denominal suffix forming nouns and adjectives. In Old Turkic it is not attested, so its rather late appearance and primary spread in Kipchak languages and in Chagatay (see below) may give us the hint that it is of Mongolian origin. The suffix *-sun, -sün* was quite common in Mongolian, used mainly as a denominal, sometimes as deverbal suffix. It does not change the meaning of the basic word considerably.[6] Brockelmann first tried to explain the form *susun* «thirst» from a hypothetical **susuzun* in which *-suz* would be the privative suffix and *-un* a suffix forming abstract nouns,[7] then *susun* could have come about through haplology. Later on he himself rejected his own supposition as untenable,[8] because the suffix *-sun* occurs in other words, too. Zajączkowski

[2] There is a homonym of this Tatar word, meaning «kasátik» (*ibid.*, p. 491), probably it has nothing to do with our word.

[3] *DTS*, p. 515.

[4] Brockelmann, p. 187; Clauson, *Et. Dict.*, p. 786. The word *šěvě* is present in Chuvash too (Ašmarin XVII, p. 368; Egorov, *Êt. sl.*, p. 337).

[5] *DTS*, p. 516; Clauson, *Et. Dict.*, p. 792.

[6] N. Poppe, *Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen*: *KSz* XX (1923—27), pp. 116—117.

[7] K. Brockelmann, *Zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen*: *ZDMG* 70 (1916), p. 187.

[8] K. Brockelmann, *Ostt. Gr.*, p. 137, § 93.

rightly supposes the Mongolian origin of the suffix *-sun*,[9] but his only example from the Karaim, the word *ťuršuń* «postać, obraz» is most probably not a Karaim formation but the Turkicized form of Mongolian *dürsü(n)* «form, shape; figure; countenance, appearance; pattern, model; picture, representation, portrait, statue».[10] In his book on the Karachay-Balkar nominal word-formation M. Chabičev treats the suffix *-sïn* as a non-productive denominal suffix,[11] and tries to explain it, quite improbably from the verb *sun-* «polagat', predstavljat'».[12] A detailed analysis of the suffix *-sun* lies outside the scope of this paper, and as I shall treat it in another article,[13] it seems to be sufficient to refer to my final conclusion there. 12 words ending in *-sun* can be attested in Chagatay as Mongolian foreign words, and there are 6 Mongolian loan-words ending in *-sun* in different Turkic languages. There are over a dozen Turkic words ending in *-sun* that cannot be explained from Mongolian, and about half of them can be given a satisfactory etymology on Turkic ground. All in all *-sun* must have been a sporadic suffix of Mongolian origin that had only a short life in some of the Turkic languages.

Turning back to *Ḫusräv u Šīrīn* it may be safely assumed that the word *swswn* must be read *suwsun*, *sūsun* or *susun*, and Zajączkowski's reading with palatal vowels (*süsün*) must be rejected. In this case even a rhyme «improves» in the *Ḫusräv u Šīrīn*:

čïqarγïl ǰāndïn iblīs ǰāsūsïnï
tamarlarïŋγa toldur ʿišq suwsïnï[14]
«Expell the spy of the Satan from the soul,
Fill the drink of love into your veins.»

The *ï* in *suwsïn* is the result of illabial dissimilation, as in the modern Nogay, Kazan Tatar and Bashkir data.

Before Quṭb's work we can find the word in the *Codex Cumanicus* too:

susun ǰannï kim esirtir
ham ač tïnnï kim toydïrïr.[15]
«A drink which intoxicates the soul,
and satisfies the hungry soul.»

[9] A. Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy imienne*, p. 39.

[10] Lessing, *Mongolian—English Dict.*, p. 282.

[11] M. A. Chabičev, *Karačaevo-balkarskoe imennoe slovoobrazovanie* (*opyt sravnitel'no-istoričeskogo izučenija*), Čerkessk 1971, p. 206. At another place (p. 35) he writes of this suffix as if it were productive. I do not know what the basis of this assertion is.

[12] Chabičev, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 206.

[13] I. Vásáry, *The Turkic Suffix* -sun, probably in AOH.

[14] Zajączkowski, *ḪŠ* I, p. 184.

[15] G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus*, p. 194; Grönbech, *CC*, p. 226. Kuun wrongly interprets *susû* as *susuz* «sitiens» (*op. cit.*, p. 194, n. 9).

The use of the verb *esirt-* «intoxicate» here enables us to interpret *susun* as «wine», as this meaning is present in Karaim.

The word *susun* occurs in the Koran commentary of Qarši edited by Borovkov, but it evidently escaped the editor's attention. The text in question runs as follows: *tatmayaylar . . . sawuq susun* (سو سو ن) *mägär qaynar suw tatarlar* (123, 1) «ne vkusjat oni . . . vody cholodnoj, tol'ko kipjaščuju vodu budut probovat'».[16] Borovkov's translation is wrong here, as the form *susun* cannot be regarded the accusative of *su* (سو) supplied with the 3rd person singular possessive suffix, firstly because after the attribute (*sawuq*) the use of the possessive suffix would be unjustifiable, secondly a form like **susïnï* could be expected here, as the other, commoner variant of «water» *suw* (سو) occurs in the same case in the *Tefsīr* as *suwïnï*.[17] But even the parallelism of the sentence clearly indicates that both *susun* and *suw* must be interpreted as words in the absolute case: *suw tatarlar* «they will taste water», consequently *susun tatmayaylar* «they will not taste drink».

The word *swswn* can be found in Chagatay dictionaries as well. Practically all data go back to Muḥammad Mahdi Xān's lexicographical work the *Sanglax*, where it is interpreted as «āb-i dūġ» i. e. butter-milk.[18] Sir Gerard Clauson, the editor of the *Sanglax* thinks that the *Sanglax* is the only primary authority for the word (the data of the *Ḫusräv u Šīrīn*, the *Codex Cumanicus* and the *Tefsīr* of Qarši must have remained unknown for him), consequently he regards the reading *susun* dubious. But in the light of the Middle Turkic and modern Turkic data treated so far this doubt about the word is automatically eliminated. The word *susun* found its way also into an abridged version or extract of the *Sanglax*, into the *Ḫulāṣa-i ʿAbbāsī*, which was exploited by Zenker (always under the misleading title of *Sanglax*): سو سو ن «petit-lait | Molken».[19] Budagov took over Zenker's word as: Chag. سو سو ن *susūn* «syvorotka»,[20] and Radloff too: Chag. *susun* «die Buttermilch».[21] Probably Pavet de Courteille and Šeyχ Süleyman used the *Ḫulāṣa-i ʿAbbāsī*: سو سو ن «petit lait; partie liquide qui s'accumule contre les parois du vase renfermant le lait de chamelle»[22] and سو سو ن «ayran, čaylab, āb-i

[16] A. K. Borovkov, *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tefsira XII—XIII vv.*, Moscow 1963, p. 275.

[17] Borovkov, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[18] Clauson, *Sanglax*, p. 62 and 243v of the facsimile.

[19] Zenker, *Dict. turc-arabe-persan*, p. 526.

[20] Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar'* II, p. 404. The length in the second syllable is superfluous.

[21] Radloff, *Wb.* IV, c. 783.

[22] Pavet de Courteille, p. 356.

dūġ, čalab, čal [churned sour milk, butter-milk, whey]».[23] In the *Abušqa*, the *Badā'i al-luġat* and the *Bahǰat al-luġat* it is missing.

There is a Mongolian word which can certainly be connected with Turkic *susun*, it is attested only in the *Muqaddimat al-adab*: *susun* سو سو ن — Turkic *bat* — Persian آهر.[24] *Bat* means «the thick juice of pressed dates» in Kāšγarī and «glue, paste» in Kirgiz,[25] Persian آهار is «starch for glazing», so Mongolian *susun* must mean «dense liquid, esp. starch for glazing». As the Mongolian word seems quite isolated, no other sources know it, it must be a borrowing from Chagatay *susun*, although the slight shift in meaning would require further elucidation.

There is one more group of Middle Turkic texts where the word *swswn* occurs, namely the Golden Horde, early Crimean and Kazanian tarkhan yarliks. Here it is nothing else but a homograph of the word *susun* «drink» written in the same way as *swswn* (as was seen above). The reading and interpretation of this term of the yarliks has been rather dubious, although more than a century ago I. Berezin in his commentaries to the Timur Qutluġ-yarlik suggested the right solution when he connected the word with Mongolian *ši'üsün*, *šūsün* «porcion», Manchu *šusu* «id.», the name of daily provisions given to state officials; consequently *swswnči* is «činovnik, zavedyvavšij otpuskom porcionov».[26] But it is time to embark upon investigating the diplomas in question. Out of the n i n e pieces of Golden Horde and early Crimean Tatar tarkhan yarliks known to us s i x contain our word. In the chronological order they are the following:

1. Toχtamïš' yarlik given to Bek-Haǰi, 1393:
   (8) *ulaġ šüsün* (شو سو ن) *tilämäsünlär* «they must not demand relay horses and provisions».[27]
2. Timur Qutluġ's yarlik, 1398:
   (44) *süsün* (سُو سُو ن) *ulūfa tilämäsünlär* «they must not demand provisions».[28]
   (9—10) *yamčï* | *süsünčilär* (سُو سُو نجی لر) *quščï barsčïlarγa* «to the post officials and those in charge of the provisions, to the falconers and those who hunt with cheetahs».[29]

[23] Šeyχ Süleyman efendi, p. 190.

[24] Poppe, *Mukaddimat al-adab* II, p. 328.

[25] Clauson, *Et. Dict.*, p. 296b under 2. *bat*; B. Atalay, *Divân lugat it-türk tercemesi* I, p. 319: بَتْ «Cibre, bir nesnenin çöküntüsü».

[26] I. Berezin, *Tarchannye jarlyki Tochtamyša, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireja*, Kazan 1851, p. 31, n. 13.

[27] Berezin, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[28] V. V. Radlov, *Jarlyki Tochtamyša i Temir-Kutluga*: *ZVOIRAO* III (1888), p. 37. The initial *u* of the Uyghur script assures that علو ؤه must be read as *'ulūfa*, not *'alūfa* as Doerfer gives it (*TMEN* I, p. 364).

[29] Radlov, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

3. Mengli Girey's yarlik, 1467 :
yasaq qalan süsün (سو يسو ن) *ulūfa tep tilämäsünlär tavar qaralarïn ulay ilmäk tutmasunlar* »they must not demand taxes and provisions, and they must not take their cattle and relay horses».[30]
4. Haǰi Girey's yarlik, 1453 :
(19) *tavar qarasïndïn ulūfa süsün* (سو سو ،٠) *tep almasunlar* «they must not take (anything) from their cattle as provisions».[31]
5. Saʿādet Girey's yarlik, 1523 :
(7) *atï ulayïndan qoy quzïsïndan ulay ilmäk tutmasun süsün* (سو يسو ،٠) *ulūfa yemäsünlär* «they must not take relay horses from their horses, and they must not eat provisions from their sheep».[32]
6. Ṣāḥib Girey's yarlik, 1523 :
süsün (٠ سو و) *ulūfa tilämäsünlär* «they must not demand provisions».[33]
In the recently discovered Kazanian yarlik of Ibrahim han only the obligation of relay horses is enumerated : *tarχan elči ulay ilmäk tutmasunlar* «tarkhans and envoys must not take relay horses».[34]

The word *süsün* in the tarkhan yarliks and the whole context in which it occurs goes back to Mongolian patterns. It is the Mongolian word *šigüsün, ši'üsün* «sap, juice ; food (usually meat) for offerings ; food for traveling officials ; whole sheep cooked and served to honored guests».[35] First it crops up in the Secret History of the Mongols, in § 280, where the organization of the post-stations (*yam*) is described : *ula'an-u aqtas ši'üsün-ü qonit* «the geldings as relay horses and the sheep as provision».[36] So *ši'üsün, šūsün* «provision» as well as *ulaγa(n)* «relay horse» are technical terms of the Mongolian post-system, they formed the indispensable services of a post-station yielded to state envoys and traveling officials.[37] *Süsün* must have included

[30] I. Berezin : *ZOOID* VIII (1872), suppl., pp. 2, 3.

[31] A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki . . . yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, p. 64 ; Hinz, *Zwei Steuerbefreiungsurkunden* : *Monumenta Islamica Inedita*, Berlin 1952, p. 214.

[32] Berezin, *op. cit.*, p. 19. B.'s translation (p. 21) is not correct, he did not understand the parallelism of the sentence : *qoy quzïsïndan* refers to *yemäsünlär*.

[33] Battal : *Türkiyat Mecmuası* II (1926), p. 83.

[34] M. Gosmanov—S. Möchammäd'jarov—R. Stepanov, *Yaŋa yarlïq* : *Qazan utları* 1965. avgust 8., p. 147 and from here A. N. Kurat, *Türk kavimleri ve devletleri*, Ankara 1972, p. 354.

[35] Lessing, *Mongolian—English Dict.*, p. 704. For the data of different Mongolian languages see Doerfer, *TMEN* I, p. 362.

[36] Ligeti, *L'histoire secrète*, p. 258 ; Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 142.

[37] For *ši'üsün* and *ši'üsünči* «official in charge of the provisions» in Yüan China see P. Olbricht, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 73—77. This Mongolian term was taken over by the Chinese chancellery of the Yüan-period as 首思 *shou-ssŭ*, transcription of a Mongolian

food, drink, sometimes daily fee and probably fodder for the horses.[38] The provisions or rations of post-stations were ensured by regular taxation of the population; generally sheep had been demanded as the contemporary texts and the data of modern Mongolian languages clearly demonstrate. One of the tarkhan privileges given to single persons or whole bodies was the exemption from this sort of taxation. This privilege was fixed in the tarkhan yarliks in a permanently recurring formula; the concise, original form of which runs as follows: «They (i.e. envoys and officials) must not demand/take relay horses and provisions (i.e. from the person or body to whom the yarlik in question was issued)». This shorter, original formula is characteristic of the Mongolian documents written in 'Phags-pa script: *ula·a ši·usu bu barit'uqayi*.[39] This Mongolian formula is reflected in Rašīd-ad-Dīn's Persian text as *ūlāġ u šūsūn azēšān nagīrand* «they must not demand relay horses and provisions from them (i.e. from the privileged persons, the tarkhans)».[40] This double pillar of the post service had been borrowed by Manchu too: *ula šušu* «auf Relaisreisen mitgenommener Proviant»; *ula šusu* «Vieh und Lebensmittel für Dienstreisen und Expeditionen jenseits der Großen Mauer» and *šusu* «Zuschuß für Extragaben; Proviant».[41]

Turning back to the Golden Horde yarliks, it is evident that the Mongolian word *ši'üsün* was taken over by the Turks as a technical term. Once it occurs as شو سو ن, four times as سو سو ن, and twice as سو يسو ن (probably under the influence of Uyghur orthography where *ü* of the first syllable is *waw* + *alif*). Its possible reading is *šūsün, šüsün, sūsün, süsün*, thus always with a palatal vowel, all the other readings put forward so far are erroneous.[42] Radloff attempted to interpret our word as *susun* «drink» (the

šiüs (Pelliot: *TP* XXVII, 1930, p. 38; E. Haenisch, *Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft*, Berlin 1940, p. 68; L. Ligeti: *AOH* VIII, 1958, p. 222, n. 18).

[38] I do not know Olbricht's source drawing on which he states that fodder was not included in *ši'üsün* (*op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 160).

[39] Mangala's edict from 1276, l. 16 (Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in HP'ags-pa Script*, p. 47); Buyantu qan's first edict from 1314, ll. 17—18 (*ibid.*, p. 49); Buyantu qan's second edict from 1314, l. 19 (*ibid.*, p. 52); edict of Dharmapāla's widow from 1321, l. 13 (*ibid.*, p. 55).

[40] A. K. Arends, *Fazlullah Rašid-ad-Din. Džami-at-tavarich* (*Sbornik letopisej*), Tom III. Baku 1957, p. 427. — For other occurences of the word *sūsūn* in Rašīd-ad-Dīn and other Persian sources see Doerfer, *TMEN* I, p. 363.

[41] E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, Wiesbaden 1952—56, pp. 953, 872.

[42] *Susun* was read by Radloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 37; Battal: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* II (1926), p. 98; Hasan: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* III (1926—33), p. 214; Kurat, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 72; Kotwicz: *RO* XVI (1950), p. 355. *Šusun* is given by Hasan: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* IV (1934), p. 107; Spuler, *Die Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 319, 338.

word treated in the first part of this paper).[43] Though phonetically possible, the Mongolian background of this formula of the yarliks unanimously speaks for reading it as *süsün*. Pelliot tried to posit with contamination : «Les *šūsünčï* seraient les fonctionnaires en charge des rations, mais peut-être une contamination se produisit-elle de bonne heure en pays turc entre le mongol *šūsün*, peu connu, et le turc *susun*, et ceci expliquerait le *susunčï* du yarliq, sinon même l'apparente forme à *s-* au lieu de *š-* des mss. de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn utilisés par Berezin.»[44] Doerfer is right to refute this thought, as writing *u* instead of *ü* occurs quite often in late Uyghur texts owing to the influence of Arabic script.[45]

As we could observe, the word *süsün* is used by itself only in Toχtamïš' yarlik, otherwise it is either preceded or followed by the word علو *ulūfa*. Finally it goes back to Arabic *ʿulūfa*, plural of *ʿalaf* «(Vieh-) Futter» ; in Persian *ʿalūfa* is «provender for a horse ; stipend, salary, pension, soldier's pay, subsistence-money ; rations, daily pay».[46] Though its original meaning is «fodder, provender», in the Mongol period it was mainly «provisions, rations» in Persian and the Turkic texts of the yarliks, the same term as *süsün* in Mongolian. Consequently I think that *süsün ulūfa* or *ulūfa süsün* of the yarliks is a hendiadyoin for «provisions, rations», meaning food and drink both for the occifials and for their horses. So it seems needless to separate «provision and fodder» in our translations.

In the Russian translations of the tarkhan yarliks given to the Russian priesthood *süsün* and *süsün ulūfa* is generally rendered by *korm* «food»,[47] but later *korm i pitie* «food and drink» occurs, too.[48] In interpreting *korm* of the

[43] Radloff, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Doerfer, *TMEN* I, p. 364 writes : «Radloff schreibt čag. *susun* (R IV 783 'Trunk, Buttermilch' = S 243v), jedoch ist *süsün* zu lesen, . . .» In this case Doerfer's objection is false, since the Chagatay word *susun*, as was seen, really exists and it has nothing to do with *süsün* of the yarliks. In Budagov's dictionary, e.g., both words are well registered under saparate entries : سو سو ن «syvorotka» (II, p. 404), شو سو ن «porcion, korm» (I, p. 675).

[44] Pelliot : *TP* XXVII (1930), p. 38, n.

[45] Doerfer, *TMEN* I, p. 364.

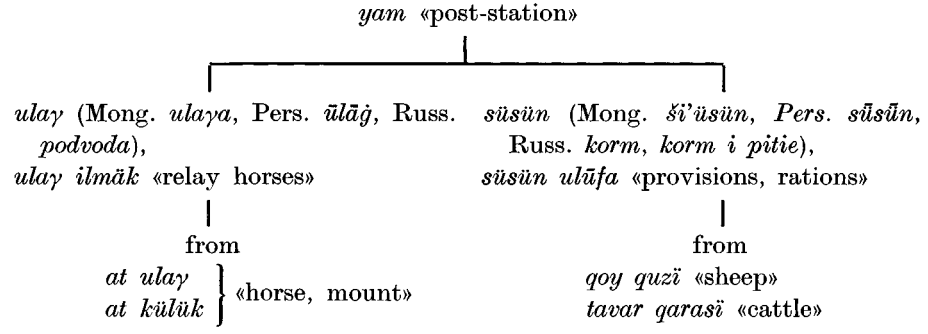
[46] H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch*, p. 569 ; F. Steingass, *Persian—English Dictionary*, p. 864.

[47] Mengü-Temir's yarlik, August 1, 1267 : «Čingiz car' potom čto budet' dan' ili *korm*, at' ne zammajut' ich da pravym serdcem bogovi za nas i za plemja naše moljat'sja i blagoslovjajut' nas.» «. . . ili podvoda, ili *korm* kto ni budet', da ne prosjat' ; jam, voina, tamga ne dajut'.» (*Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, Moscow 1955, p. 467) ; Tajdula's yarlik to Metropolitan Feognost, February 4, 1351 : «A pošlina emu ne nadobe, ni podvoda, ni *korm*, ni zapros, ni kakov dar, . . .» (*ibid.*, p. 468).

[48] Berdibek's yarlik to Metropolitan Aleksej, November 1357 : «. . . ne emljut u nich, ni podvod, ni *kormov*, ni *pitija*, ni zaprosov, ni počestija ne v"zdajut'.» (*Pam. russk. prava* III, p. 469 ; Tülek's yarlik to Metropolitan Michail, 1379 : «. . . ni kotoraja pošlina, ni podvoda, ni *korm*, ni *pit'e*, ni zapros, ni darov ne dadut', . . .» (*ibid.*, pp. 465—466).

«chanskie jarlyki» J. M. Smith has a peculiar theory. The Mongols, having occupied Russia, demanded provisions for themselves and fodder for their animals. «This was a new kind of demand both for the Mongols, unaccustomed to an agricultural country with its granaries and store-houses, and for the Russians, used to a more sophisticated kind of levy on agriculture; neither had a technical term for this exaction, which accordingly went on record, as it were, directly out of the mouth of the Mongol trooper: «food» (*korm*).»[49] It goes without saying that such a technical term did exist, it was the Mongolian *ši'üsün*, and Russian *korm* is the precise translation of this term. Now, *pitie* in the Russian translation can be explained in two ways. Maybe *ulūfa* was translated as *korm* «food, fodder» and *swswn* had been read «in Tatar» as *susun* «drink» (not *süsün* «provisions»), consequently translated as *pitie* (in this case something like Pelliot's suggestion of a contamination might have happened, see above). Or *süsün*, and this is more probable, has been specified as food and drink, i.e. *korm i pitie*.

Having surveyed the formulae of Golden Horde yarliks concerning the post-service, the following graphic representation could be given of the terms used:



If we look more closely at the texts of the yarliks a marked preference for the detailed formulae containing several hendiadyoins can be observed with the later yarliks. This may suggest us (as J. M. Smith put it poignantly in connection with the Russian translation of the yarliks) «the increasing simplicity of language as the Mongol administration tried to set forth precisely, comprehensibly and comprehensively the demands forbidden.»[50]

In concluding this paper it may be emphasized once more that سو سو ن in Middle Turkic texts is a homograph for *susun* «drink, beverage» (derivative of *su* «water») and *süsün* «provision, ration» (borrowing from Mongolian *ši'üsün* «id.»). The two words can and must be distinguished from each other in these texts.

[49] J. M. Smith Jr: *HJAS* 30 (1970), p. 57.
[50] Smith: *HJAS* 30 (1970), p. 56, n. 31.

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IX

Notes on the Term *tartanaq* in the Golden Horde

With regard to the history of the Golden Horde, Russian Turcology has brilliant research traditions established by Berezin, Radlov, Samoilovich, Iakubovskii and Grekov among others. Despite the continued interest in this subject and the important research already carried out, Golden Horde documents have not been satisfactorily analysed either from a historical or linguistic angle; a situation made worse by the fact that reliable text editions of these documents can only be found in disparate, sometimes hard to access old Russian journals and collected volumes. It is particularly disappointing that textual misunderstanding have been caused by erroneous readings and mistranslations of texts such as the charter of Tokhtamish given to Bek-khoja in 1381 (the oldest surving document in its original form). This document has been made available to scholars in A.P. Grigor'ev's incomplete edition[1] as well as the older works of V.V. Grigor'ev and Berezin. While studying the original document in Leningrad (in LO IVAN = Leningrad Section of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences) I detected several errors that affect the content and understanding of this charter. Some of these errors had been corrrected by Samoilovich,[2] but others remained unnoticed by this excellent Turcologist. It is impossible to interpret historical facts on the basis of bad text editions as shown by the fact that I. Berezin mistranslated the phrase *tedimiz bulay* 'we said so' as 'Timur Pulad' which later led V.D. Smirnov, historian of the Crimean Khanate, to put forward a sophisticated theory concerning the aforementioned Timur Pulad, Khan of the Golden Horde, who is, in actuality, unmentioned in the charter.[3]

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[1] V.V. Grigor'ev, Iarlyki Tokhtamysha i Seadet-Gereia, *Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei* 1 (Odessa, 1844), pp. 338–9; I.N. Berezin, *Khanskie iarlyki* II: Tarkhannye iarlyki Tokhtamysha, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireia. Kazan, 1851, pp. 13–15; A.P. Grigor'ev, Pozhalovanie v iarlyke Tokhtamysha, *Vostokovedenie* 8 (Leningrad, 1981), pp. 126–36.

[2] A.N. Samoilovich, Neskol'ko popravok k izdaniiu i perevodu iarlykov Tokhtamysh-khana, *Izvestiia Tavricheskogo Obshchestva Istorii, arkheologii i ètnografii* 1 (58) (Simferopol', 1927), pp. 141–3.

[3] I.N. Berezin, *Khanskie iarlyki* II, pp. 14, 15; V.D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Otomanskoi porty do nachala XVIII veka.* St. Petersburg, 1887, pp. 139–41. The erroneous reading was later corrected by Samoilovich in the above-cited work (see n. 2).

To my mind, the most urgent task is now to gather all the existing Golden Horde documents into one volume. This has already been attempted by the Tatar scholar M.A. Usmanov, who collected a vast amount of material in his book (*Zhalovannye akty Dzhuchieva Ulusa XIV–XVI vv.* Kazan, 1979) and gave a description and analysis of the characteristics of each of the documents. The researcher A.P. Grigor'ev published a monograph on the diplomatic practice of the Mongol states (*Mongol'skaia diplomatika XIII–XIV vv.* Leningrad, 1978) as well as a large number of interesting articles on Golden Horde diplomacy,[4] yet despite all these efforts, no definitive edition containing all these documents exists. In my book in preparation (*Chancellery of the Golden Horde*) I will provide translation and analysis on all published and unpublished Golden Horde, Kazan Khanate and early Crimean Khanate immunity charters written before the mid-16th century (the time of the Russian seizure of Kazan and Astrakhan), and use this to describe the activity of the chancellery of the Golden Horde. With this work I will endeavour to create the proper philogical basis needed for both linguistic and historical analysis.[5]

In this essay I will investigate a term that frequently appears in Golden Horde documents. The word *tartanaq* is very rarely used; except for Golden Horde documents there are almost no other examples of it in other written sources and contemporary Turkic languages.[6] *Tartanaq* is always used in conjunction with the word *tamğa* to form as *tamğa tartanaq*, and accompanied by other terms designating various taxes, tolls and duties for the payment and fulfilment of which the holder of the document received immunity. In the Mongolian charters that served as the prototype of those of the Golden Horde, only the term *tamğa* occurs, so the word *tartanaq* is a Turkic addition. The meaning of

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[4] [In the meantime, A.P. Grigor'ev has published two books on the Italian and Russian collections of the contemporary documents of the Golden Horde: A.P. Grigor'ev and V.P. Grigor'ev, *Kollektsiia zolotoordynskikh dokumentov XIV veka iz Venetsii.* St. Petersburg, 2002; A.P. Grigor'ev, *Sbornik khanskikh iarlykov russkim mitropolitam.* St. Petersburg, 2004. These works, though full of important commentaries and good ideas, cannot be a substitute for a critical edition of the texts.]

[5] [Owing to a number of reasons (some official, some personal), I failed to publish my book, though it is 80 percent ready. Despite the scholarly developments of the past twenty years, I do not think its publication would be superfluous, and will try to get this book into print in the next couple of years.]

[6] The only exceptions are the following data: fourteenth century Idrāk *turtanaq* 'tax' (A. Caferoğlu, *Abu Hayyân, Kitâb al-idrâk li-lisân al-Atrâk.* Istanbul, 1931, p. 63. The use of *ḍamma* instead of the expected *fatḥa*, is propably a scribal error or a misprint; but cf. n. 29 below); Bulġat *türtanaq* 'tax' (A. Zajączkowski, *Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak de l'époque de l'Etat Mamelouk. 1-ère partie. Le nom.* Warsaw, 1958, p. 53).

tamğa is well-known: 'sales tax, customs duty'. The official who was in charge of gathering this tax was called *tamğačï*. *Tamğa* and *tamğačï* (both the terms and the notions they designated) were spread throughout the Mongolian Empire, including Golden Horde territory. The Russian words *таможенник* 'customs officer' and *таможня* 'custom-house' (both coming from *тамга* 'sales tax') testify to the enduring effect of Golden Horde institutions on medieval Russia. But what were the real meanings of *tartanaq* and *tartanaqčï*? The Austrian Hammer-Purgstall and the Russian Berezin, both renowned Oriental scholars of the nineteenth century, made an attempt to answer this question, but could not prove their case definitively, although they were on the right track.

Hammer-Purgstall translates *tartanaq* as 'die Waggebühr [balance duty]' without any commentary,[7] while Berezin interpets the term *tamğa tartanaq* as 'тамговые весовые [customs and balance duties]', and *tamğačï tartanaqčï* as 'таможенник, весовщик [customs officer, weigher (official who weighs the merchandise)]'.[8] He also adds that the word *tartanaq* fell into disuse and meant 'balance, scales'. "In the Horde duty was levied on merchandise, and also on the scales that belonged to the government."[9] As an analogy the author put forward the obsolete Russian words *весовые* and *весчи*.[10] *Весовóе*, *вéсчее* and *весéбное* meant in Russian 'пошлина откупщика за торговые весы, важню; плата за взвешивание на этих весах [customs paid by the tax-farmer for the commercial balance; payment for the use of these scales for weighing]'.[11] Following on from Berezin's work, Budagov's dictionary gives the following translation of *tartanaqčï* 'весовщик, чиновник взимающий пошлину за весы [weigher, an official who collects customs duty for balance]',[12] and Radloff, in his *Versuch*, interprets the same word as 'помощник сборщика податей [tax-collector's assistant]'.[13] Samoilovich was the first to doubt the opinion of his predessessors, stating: "I do not see sufficient reason to interpret *tartnaq*

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[7] J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland*. Pesth, 1840, p. 518.

[8] I.N. Berezin, *Vnutrennee ustroistvo Zolotoi Ordy (po khanskim iarlykam)*. St. Petersburg, 1850, p. 18 (offprint from *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* 1850, No. 10); idem, Ocherk vnutrennego ustroistva ulusa Dzhuchieva, *Trudy Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva* 8 (St. Petersburg, 1864), p. 472; idem, *Khanskie iarlyki* II, pp. 10, 15.

[9] I.N. Berezin, *Khanskie iarlyki* II, pp. 28–9, n. 10.

[10] I.N. Berezin, *Vnutrennee ustroistvo*, p. 18, n. 63.

[11] V. Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka*. St. Petersburg, 1880, vol. I, p. 334.

[12] L.Z. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narechii*. St. Petersburg, 1869, vol. I, p. 348.

[13] W.W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. St. Petersburg, 1905, vol. III, p. 867. Earlier, in his article (Iarlyki Toktamysha i Temur-Kutluga, *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva* 3, 1888, p. 23), he translated *tartanaqčï* as

as 'весовое [duty for balance]' (Berezin, Firkovich), and I am inclined to compare this term with another formed from the same verbal stem *tart-*: *tartïq* (or *tartïğ*, *tartu*), *tartuq* meaning 'подарок, подать [present, tax]'.[14] Owing to the authority of Samoilovich, his opinion was broadly accepted by scholars such as Spuler in his monograph, and later Doerfer, in his fundamental work on the Mongolian and Turkic elements of New Persian. The latter explains *tartanaq* as 'Gewerbesteuer [customs duty]', consequently attributes exactly the same meaning to the word as *tamğa*. Similar to Samoilovich, he compares *tartanaq* with *tartuğ*, another derivative of the word *tart-* 'ziehen, fortschleppen [to draw, drag]'.[15] Even in the newest Tatar-Russian dictionary the meaning of 'нало́г, по́шлина (*в татарских ханствах*) [tax, duty (*in the Tatar khanates*)]' is given to the obsolete term *tartïnaq* (*тартынак*), without special meaning attributed to the word.[16]

There is no doubt that, as both Samoilovich and Doerfer observed, *tartanaq* and *tartuğ* are derivatives of the same verbal stem *tart-*. But *tartuğ* is connected to another meaning of the same verbal stem *tart-*, and the two meanings must not be mixed. First, let us have a look at the data concerning *tartuğ*: fifteenth century Tuḥfa *tartïq* 'подарок [present]' (8a 13),[17] Navāʾī *tartïğ* 'мукофот, хадъя [reward, present]',[18] Old Ottoman *dartuk* (*tartuk*) 'pişkeş, armağan, takdime [grant, present, gift]' (data from the 14–16th centuries),[19] Uighur *tartuq*, Uzbek *tårtiq*, Kirgiz *tartuw*.[20] All these words have the connotation of 'gift, present given to a superior'. Needless to say that these 'presents' were barely-disguised forms of levies. The word *tartuğ*/*tartïğ* 'a kind of duty in the form of presents' evidently derives from the semantic field 'to pull, drag' of the verb *tart-*. This Turkic word was then borrowed by Tadjik as *tårtuq*,[21] and also found its way into Old Russian. In the latter, the word *тортак* (*тьртакъ* in the Ipat'evskii

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'таможник [customs officer]', but a bit further (p. 35) the word *tartanaq* was translated by him as 'весовые [balance duties]'.

[14] A.N. Samoilovich, Neskol'ko popravok k iarlyku Timur-Kutluga, *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* 1918 (Petrograd), p. 1113.

[15] B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland 1223–1502*, Leipzig, 1943, p. 310, n. 31; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden, 1965, vol II, p. 436 (No. 854).

[16] *Tatarsko-russkii slovar'*. Moscow, 1966, p. 520.

[17] Ė.I. Fazylov and M.T. Ziiaeva, *Izyskannyi dar tiurkskomu iazyku*. Tashkent, 1978, p. 388.

[18] *Alisher Navoii asarlari tilining izohli lughati*, Tashkent, 1984, vol. III, p. 247.

[19] *Tarama Sözlüğü*. Ankara, 1965, vol. II, p. 1018.

[20] *Uigursko-russkii slovar'*. Moscow, 1968, p. 272; *тортық*: *Uzbeksko-russkii slovar'*, Moscow, 1959, p. 445; *тартуу*: *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar'*, Moscow, 1965, p. 710.

[21] Тортук, *Tadzhiksko-russkii slovar'*, Moscow, 1954, pp. 397, 621. Cf. also G. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 436–7 (No. 854).

Khronograf of 1195) means a 'kind of tax' that cannot be closely defined.[22] To conclude, the meaning and origins of the Turkic word *tartuğ/ tartïğ* are now completely clarified.

I think, however, that the word *tartanaq* cannot be linked to the meaning 'to pull, drag' of the verb *tart-*. Although the verb *tart-* originally meant 'to pull', a semantic variant meaning 'to weigh' appeared at a relatively early date in many of both the old and new Turkic languages. This meaning is wide-spread especially in the Oguz and Kipchak languages.[23] A few examples include: Kumyk *terezelerde tartmaq* 'взве́шивать на весáх [to weigh on scales]',[24] Karakalpak *tärezige tartïw* 'idem',[25] Nogay *awïr tartuw* 'быть тяжёлым по ве́су [to be heavy]',[26] Tatar *bər qåpčïq boday biš pot tårta* 'мешóк пшеницы ве́сит пять пудóв [the sack of wheat weighs five *poods*]'.[27] Deverbal nouns are made by applying various suffixes to this stem meaning 'weight; balance, scales', for example fourteenth-century Kipchak *tartğač* 'terazi [balance]',[28] fourteenth-century Idrāk *tartuw*, *tartū* 'al-mīzān [balance]',[29] Chagatay *tartuw* 'тяжесть, вес, гиря [weight]',[30] Turkish *tartı* 'взве́шивание; вес; весы [weighing; weight; balance]',[31] etc. The meaning of the word *tartanaq* must, therefore, be connected to the notion of 'weighing', and its proper designation must have been 'weight; balance'.

As far as the morphological aspect is concerned, *tartanaq* is a derivative of *tart-* in *-nAk* which, in Khabichev's opinion, "is one of the least productive suffixes in the ancient period and one to which researchers have paid practically no attention".[32] This suffix can be added to both nominal and verbal stems. In von Gabain's Old Turkic grammar, in the indices of the *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* and in G. Clauson's *Etymological Dictionary* this suffix is not mentioned, and in all likelihood non-existent in the pre-Mongol period, even at a dialectal level. Brockelmann gives only one example for the suffix *-naq* (*qïrnaq* 'slave

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[22] M. Fasmer, *Ėtimologicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka*, Moscow, 1973, vol. IV, p. 87.

[23] For *tart-* in the written sources prior to the Mongol period, see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford, 1972, pp. 534–5.

[24] *Kumyksko-russkii slovar'*. Moscow, 1969, p. 306.

[25] *Russko-karakalpakskii slovar'*. Moscow, 1967, p. 86.

[26] *Nogaisko-russkii slovar'*. Moscow, 1963, p. 337.

[27] *Tatarsko-russkii slovar'*. Moscow, 1966, p. 519.

[28] Velet İzbudak, *El-İdrâk haşiyesi*. Istanbul, 1936, p. 46.

[29] Caferoğlu, *op. cit.*, p. 62. In another manuscript of Abū Ḥayyān's work (Darülfünun nüshası) the word is written as *turtuq*.

[30] L. Budagov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 722.

[31] *Turetsko-russkii slovar'*. Moscow, 1977, p. 829.

[32] M.A. Khabichev, *Karachaevo-balkarskoe imennoe slovoobrazovanie*. Cherkessk, 1971, p. 116.

girl', quoted from Maḥmūd Kāšğarī's *Dictionary*),[33] but even this word probably cannot be connected with the suffix *-nAq*, since it is seemingly a loan-word in Turkic.[34] In the modern Kipchak languages there are few words that contain this suffix, such as Karachay.-Balkar *чыгъанакъ* (*čığanaq*) 'колючка [prickle, spike, thorn]',[35] Kazakh *шығанақ* (*šığanaq*) 'bay, gulf'[36] <— *čığ-* 'to come out'; Kumyk *туснакъ* (*tusnaq*) 'тюрьма́, темница; заключенный [prison; prisoner]',[37] Crimean Karaim *туснакъ* (*tusnaq*) 'залог, заклад, заложенная вещь; заложник; заключение, арест [pawn, guarantee, deposit; hostage; imprisonment, arrest]', Karaim of Troki *туснах* (*tusnaḫ*) 'залог', Karaim of Halich *туснак* (*tusnak*) 'залог'[38] <— (Kirgiz) *тоз-/тос-* (*toz-/tos-*) 'преграждать путь [to bar, stop, block the way]'.[39]

In addition to the above derivation, another, less convincing, explanation can also be put forward. The deverbal suffix *-Aq* could have been added to the verbal stem *tartïn-*, the passive form of *tart-*. Examples of this include: Ïrq bitig, Qutadğu Bilig *töšnäk* 'a place where bedding is laid out, resting place' <— *töšän-* 'to spread out a mattress, to make one's bed';[40] Kāšğarī, Qutadğu Bilig *ternäk* 'an assembly or gathering', Turkish *dernek* 'society' <— *terïn-* 'to come together, gather (refl.)',[41] etc. In my opinion, the explanation with the suffix *-nAq* is more plausible, even in these examples, so *tüšnäk* <— *tüš-* 'to fall, settle (intr.)' (and not *töšnäk* <— *töšän-*'to make one's bed' as supposed by Clauson),[42] *ternäk* <— *ter-* 'to collect, gather'. Be that as it may, the word *tartanaq* can satisfactorily be explained both in the semantical and morphological respects.

To fully understand the meaning and etymology of the word one must know the duty connected with the weighing of merchandise. In solving this problem, fourteenth-century Italian and Latin translations of the diplomas granted by the Golden Horde authorities to the Italian merchants of the Crimean towns Tana and Caffa are of utmost significance. As the Tatar originals were lost, the significance of these Italian and Latin texts can rightly be compared to that of

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[33] K. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*. Leiden, 1954, p. 130.

[34] See G. Clauson, *op. cit.*, p. 661.

[35] *Russko-karachaevo-balkarskii slovar'*. Moscow, 1965, p. 230.

[36] B.N. Shnitnikov, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*. The Hague, 1966, p. 238.

[37] *Kumykskо-russkii slovar'*, p. 323.

[38] *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skii slovar'*. Moscow, 1974, p. 549.

[39] *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar'*, p. 741, 754.

[40] G. Clauson, *op. cit.*, p. 565.

[41] G. Clauson, *op. cit.*, pp. 551–2.

[42] In the *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969, p. 600) the correct form *tüšnäk* is registered.

the regal charters (*ханские ярлыки*) granted to the Russian priesthood. Although the latter have been thoroughly studied by both Turcologists and historians, the former have remained on the periphery of Oriental research.[43] The following conclusions will be based on a study of the original documents in the Archives of Venice. With regard to the term *tartanaq*, the most essential information is obtained from the charter of Janibek Khan granted to the Venetians of the town Tana in 1347 (now Azov) and based on a former immunity charter of Özbek Khan issued in 1333. The passage cited below highlights a great many problems concerning the characteristics of *tartanaq*:

> *Façando dretamentre mercadantia diebia pagar V. pro C. anchor si diebia pagar lo pesso dretamentre segundo usança prima. {del arçento et oro} E selli non vende li comercleri non li diebia tuor niente. Li cari intrando et exiando, algun per algun muodo non li possa impaçar. E delli cari diebia pagar el tartanacho segundo usança prima, dello arzento et orro, ne de orro fillado, per li tempi passadi non se pagaua comerclo, ne mo non se diebia pagar. Delle cosse che se pessa cum lo canther, per lo comercler e per lo consolo diebia meter çuste persone, li qual diebia pessar zustramentre, e pessando çustramentre, li diebia pagar V. pro C. ella rassion del kanter.*– "[If the Venetians] pursue legal commerce, they have to pay 5 percent and also the balance duty (*pesso*) according to the law and former habit. If they do not trade, the customs officers are not allowed to levy any taxes. Their carts must not be hindered in their arrivals and departures (i.e. in their free movement) in any way. *Tartanaq* must be paid for their carts according to the former habit. As in the past customs duty (*comerclo*) was not paid on silver, gold and bullion, they are not obliged to pay it now. For merchandise weighed with a balance (*canther*), the customs officer and the consul must appoint righteous persons who are obliged to weigh honestly. If they weigh honestly, 5 percent and the balance duty (*rassion del kanter*) must be paid to them.[44]

Almost the same words are repeated in the charter of Berdibek Khan in 1358 in which he affirms the privileges given to the Venetians.[45] The term *tartanaq* is also mentioned in a diploma of Ramaḍān, governor of the Golden Horde in the

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[43] [The situation has changed since the publication of my original article in 1988; A.P. Grigor'ev and V.P. Grigor'ev published their monograph on the Venetian collection of documents: A. P. Grigor'ev–V.P. Grigor'ev, *Kollektsiia zolotoordynskikh dokumentov XIV veka iz Venetsii*. St. Petersburg, 2002.]

[44] Venice, Archivio de Stato, Pacta III, f. 248r and Liber Albus, f. 255r. The document is published in J. Hammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 517–19; L. de Mas Latrie, Privilèges commerciaux accordés à la république de Venise par les princes de Crimée et les empereurs mongols du Kiptchak, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 29 (6. série, 4. tome: 1868), pp. 587–9.

[45] The word *tartanaq* occurs in the form *lo tartana* (Venice, Archivio de Stato, Pacta V, f. 160r) and *lo tartanacho* (*ibid.*, Commemoriali VI, f. 82r). The document is published in J. Hammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 519–21; L. de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 593–5. The word is read erroneously in these editions.

Crimean town Solgat, granted to the Venetians in 1356.[46] In the first diploma of Janibek Khan issued in 1342, the terms *tamğačï tartanaqčï* are translated into Latin as "comerclarijs et illis de Tartanacho".[47] These texts contain a few facts that may be helpful in elucidating the form *tartanaq*. Firstly, according to the Italian translation the meaning of *tartanaq* was undoubtedly 'weight'. At one point, the term is left without translation in the Italian text, with the Italian nominal suffix *-o* added to the Turkic word (*tartanaco*), but at another place it is translated as *pesso* 'weight'. Secondly, the amount of the duty paid after the weight cannot precisely be defined on the basis of the data at our disposal, although the commercial duty (*tamğa*) was *five* percent added to the cost of the merchandise. It was collected *segundo usança prima* 'according to the former habit', the Italian translation of the Tatar phrase *burunğï yosuniča* and the sum of the money to be paid or the quantity of merchandise to hand over depended on its type. It becomes apparent from the text that the customs' officer (Tatar *tamğačï* = Italian *comercler*) and town consul commissioned assistants who weighed the merchandise and collected the taxes. These persons were called *tartanaqčï*. The amount of the duty consisted of a fixed amount (*tamğa*) set at *five* percent of the value of the merchandise and a changing quota (*tartanaq*). The amount of the latter was determined by the sort of merchandise. So we may safely assume that in the markets and customs' offices of the Golden Horde different types of merchandise had to be weighed on balances. Seemingly, the commonest term for 'balance, scales' was *tartanaq*. In Russian the same word is used for both 'weight' (*вес*, singular) and 'balance' (*весы*, plural), and in Tatar, the term *tartanaq* was also used for both notions. The semantic development in both languages is apparent: 'weight' (load) — > 'balance' (instrument for weighing). But in the Italian text another word, *canther*, appears. This is an obvious derivation of *qantar*, a wide-spread term of measurement in the Muslim world, (the Arabic word *qinṭār* occurs in the Qur'ān). This unit was primarily used for weighing heavy objects, and originally mainly applied to the weighing of gold coins.[48] The value of *qantar* depended on time and place, but it varied between 40 and 60 kilograms, for example it was 56.443 kg in the Ottoman Empire.[49] The designation of this unit also quickly became the name of the instrument

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[46] Venice, Archivio de Stato, Commemoriali V, f. 80v. The document is published in L. de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 589–90. The term in question is also read incorrectly in this edition.

[47] Venice, Archivio de Stato, Pacta III, f. 237r (*Tartanacho*) and Liber Albus, f. 251v (*tartanaco*). The document is published in L. de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, p. 585 (the term in question again read incorrectly).

[48] E. v. Zambaur, *ḳintār*, in *Enzyklopädie des Islam*, Leiden–Leipzig, 1927, vol. II, p. 1099.

[49] W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System.* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband 1, Heft 1) Leiden, 1955, p. 27.

for weighing in numerous Turkic languages, for example in Ottoman *kantar* 1.'a weight of forty-four Turkish *oqqa*', 2. 'a steelyard for weighing'; *kantarcı*, *kantar ağası* 'a public weigh-master'; *kantariyye*, *kantarlık*, *kantar parası* 'the fee paid for the use of the public steelyards'.[50] Obviously, *qantar* was the most widely-used term for weighing in Golden Horde territories. *Tartanaq* was the general term for weighing and balance, while *qantar* was a special term. *Tartanaq* seems to be the official term used only in official documents, while *qantar* was a colloquialism. This may explain why *tartanaq* was not borrowed into Russian, while *qantar* found its way into the Russian language, and is frequently seen in Russian sources from the fifteenth-century onward. The Russian word *контарь/кантарь*, similar to the Tatar word, was used to designate both 'weight' and 'balance'. As a measure *контарь* was equal to 2.5 to 3 *poods* (1 *pood* equalled 16.38 kg). As a name for balance it also meant manual scales in which the fulcrum was stable and the weight was mobile.[51] The words *контарные деньги* and *контарное* meaning 'пошлина, взимаемая с контаря веса [customs duty collected for the use of balance]' were also known in Old Russian.[52] Turkic designations for two other kinds of balance also found their way into Old Russian, as *безмéн* and *мéрези/терезá*, probably through Tatar mediation as was the case with *кантарь*.[53]

I do hope that what has been said so far could fully elucidate both the etymology of the word *tartanaq* and the historical reality lying behind this term. The historical-philological approach I have applied is, to my mind, an efficient method for the interpretation of these historical terms.

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[50] J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon.* Constantinople, 1890, p. 1476.

[51] See V. Dal', *op. cit.,* III, p. 152; *Slovar' russkogo iazyka XI–XVII vv.* part 7. Moscow, 1980, pp. 282–3, *Slovnik staroukraïns'koï movi XIV-XV st.* Kiev, 1977, vol. I, p. 469.

[52] *Slovar' russkogo iazyka XI–XVII vv.* part 7, p. 282.

[53] V. Dal', *op. cit.*, I, p. 66, IV, p. 400; M. Fasmer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 144–5, IV, p. 46; E.N. Shipova, *Slovar' tiurkizmov v russkom iazyke.* Alma-Ata, 1976, pp. 74, 319.

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Bemerkungen zum uigurischen Schrifttum in der Goldenen Horde und bei den Timuriden

Die Wiener Nationalbibliothek verwahrt zwei wertvolle türkische Texte in uigurischer Schrift. Das erste Denkmal ist eine Herrscherurkunde, die von Temür-Qutluġ, dem Chan der Goldenen Horde, im Jahre 1398, veranlaßt worden ist. Das Wiener Exemplar, das jetzt in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrt ist, stammt aus dem Nachlaß von JOSEPH HAMMER-PURGSTALL, der diese Handschrift von ANTON VON RAAB, Dolmetscher in Konstantinopel, erworben hat. HAMMER selbst hat das Diplom 1818, in den „Fundgruben des Orients" veröffentlicht. Diese Publikation läßt viel zu wünschen übrig, doch dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß HAMMERS Artikel die erste Veröffentlichung eines derartigen Dokumentes war, deshalb kann HAMMER das Verdienst, bahnbrechend gewesen zu sein, nicht abgesprochen werden. Seit der ersten Publikation war der Freibrief von Temür-Qutluġ Gegenstand vieler Untersuchungen und Publikationen[1]. Das andere, im weiteren zu behandelnde Denkmal ist das *Qutadġu Bilig,* ein weltberühmtes literarisches Werk des Türkentums aus dem 11. Jahrhundert, das erste im Geiste des Islam verfaßte didaktische Gedicht. Die mit uigurischen Buchstaben abgeschriebene Wiener Handschrift dieses Werkes, die im Jahre 1439 in Herat verfertigt worden ist, ist ebenfalls aus HAMMERS Nachlaß in die Nationalbibliothek geraten[2].

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[1] J. VON HAMMER, *Uigurisches Diplom Kutlugh Timur's vom Jahre 800 (1397):* Fundgruben des Orients 6 (1818), S. 359–362; I. N. BEREZIN, *Chanskie jarlyki* II. *Tarchannye jarlyki Tochtamyša, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireja,* Kazan' 1851, S. 3–11, 23–43; I. N. BEREZIN, *Tureckaja chrestomatija* I, Kazan' 1857, S. 13–16; V. V. RADLOV, *Jarlyki Toktamyša i Temir-Kutluga:* ZVOIRAO 3 (1888), S. 1–40; A. N. SAMOJLOVIČ, *Neskol'ko popravok k jarlyku Timur-Kutluga:* Izvestija Rossijskoj akademii nauk 1918, S. 1109–1124; ABDULLAH OĞ. HASAN, *Temir Kutluğ yarlığı:* Türkiyat Mecmuası 3 (1926–33), S. 207–227; A. N. KURAT, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler,* İstanbul 1940, S. 148–149. – Trotz dieser Publikationen fehlt noch eine gute kritische Ausgabe des Textes. In meinem Buch über die Kanzlei der Goldenen Horde (Chancellery of the Golden Horde, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, in Vorbereitung) wird der Text dieser Urkunde kritisch herausgegeben.

[2] Die erste Ausgabe der Wiener Handschrift des *Kutadġu Bilig:* H. VÁMBÉRY, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik,* Innsbruck 1870. Die erste Faksimile-Ausgabe: W. RADLOFF, *Kudatku Bilik. Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien,* St. Petersburg 1890. Ferner siehe: W. RADLOFF, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-Hadschib aus*

Also haben wir zwei Wiener Handschriften vor uns, die chronologisch das Ende des 14. und die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts betreffen und die sich auf das Reich der Goldenen Horde und das der Timuriden beziehen. Zu dieser Zeit war in beiden Staaten der Islam die herrschende Religion, und in beiden Staaten blühte eine reiche Hofliteratur, die aus der muslimischen Literatur der Araber und Perser schöpfte und meistens in arabischer Schrift geschrieben war. An diesem Punkt erhebt sich mit Recht die folgende Frage: Wie war es möglich, daß in islamischen Staaten der Türken, in der Goldenen Horde und bei den Timuriden, neben dem arabischen Schrifttum auch ein uigurisches Schrifttum existierte, sogar eine Blütezeit erlebte. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, muß ein kurzer Rückblick über die Verbreitung des uigurischen Schrifttums bei den Mongolen im 13. Jahrhundert gegeben werden.

Als die Mongolen die uigurische Schrift für ihre eigene Sprache übernommen haben, erhoben sie diese in den Rang einer Reichsschrift. Im gesamten Gebiet des mongolischen Weltreichs wurden mongolsprachige Erlasse und Sendschreiben mit uigurischen Lettern verfaßt. Und was ist in der Goldenen Horde geschehen? Anders als bei den Hülegiden im Iran und bei den Tschagataiden in Turkestan, wurde die mongolische Sprache in den Kanzleien der Goldenen Horde offensichtlich nicht verwendet. Wir besitzen keine Originalurkunde aus den ersten anderthalb Jahrhunderten der Goldenen Horde (das erste Originaldokument, das erhalten geblieben ist, wird auf 1381 datiert)[3], doch wissen wir aus verschiedenen Quellen genau, daß die Ausstellung von Urkunden auch in der Goldenen Horde üblich gewesen ist. (Die russischen Chroniken z. B. berichten darüber regelmäßig.) Außerdem verfügen wir über zeitgenössische Übersetzungen von Urkunden, deren Bedeutung für die türkische Philologie und Geschichte unschätzbar ist. Es handelt sich um die russischen, lateinischen und italienischen Übersetzungen tatarischer Dokumente aus dem 13.–14. Jahrhun-

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Bälasagun. Theil I. Der Text in Transcription herausgegeben, St. Petersburg 1891, Theil II. Text und Übersetzung nach den Handschriften von Wien und Kairo, St. Petersburg 1910; *Kutadgu Bilig. Tıpkıbasım* (Ausgabe des Türk Dil Kurumu). I. Bd. Viyana nüshası, İstanbul 1942. Eine kritische Ausgabe des Textes aufgrund dreier Handschriften: R. R. Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig* I. Metin, Ankara 1947, 1979², II. Tercüme. Ankara 1959, 1974². III. Indeks, İstanbul 1979.

[3] Dieses Dokument ist eine Herrscherurkunde von Toḫtamïš, die in der Handschriftensammlung der Leningrader Abteilung des Orientalischen Instituts der Sowjetischen Akademie (LO IV AN SSSR, Rukopisnyj otdel, D-222) aufbewahrt wird. Für Ausgaben siehe: V. V. Grigor'ev, *Jarlyki Tochtamyša i Seadet-Geraja:* Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej 1 (1844), S. 338–339; I. N. Berezin, a. a. O., S. 13–15; A. N. Samojlovič, *Neskol'ko popravok k izdaniju i perevodu jarlykov Tochtamyš-chana:* Izvestija Tavričeskogo Obščestva Istorii, Archeologii i Etnografii I/58 (Simferopol' 1927), S. 141–142; A. P. Grigor'ev, *Data vydači jarlyka Toktamyša:* Vostokovedenie 6 (Leningrad 1979), S. 168–188 (Grigor'ev datiert das Dokument auf A. H. 380 = A. D. 1379). – Eine neue kritische Ausgabe des Textes wird in meinem oben erwähnten Buch (Fn. 1) stattfinden.

dert. Die russischen Übersetzungen geben die Texte tatarischer Privilegienurkunden wieder, die seitens der Chane der Goldenen Horde dem russischen Priestertum gegeben wurden[4]. Die lateinischen und italienischen Texte beziehen sich auf Privilegienurkunden der tatarischen Chane für die venezianischen und genuesischen Handelskolonien auf der Krim, nämlich Tana und Kaffa[5]. Aufgrund dieser Dokumente können wir leicht feststellen, daß die ursprünglichen Texte in türkischer Sprache und uigurischer Schrift abgefaßt waren.

Zuerst wollen wir die Frage der Sprache näher betrachten. Vor den italienischen Übersetzungen der genuesisch-tatarischen Vertragsurkunden befindet sich eine kurze lateinische Einleitung, mit dem deutlichen Hinweis, daß die ursprünglichen Texte *in lingua ugaresca,* d.h. in uigurischer Sprache, gegeben waren[6]. Offenbar kann diese Sprache mit der uigurischen Sprache, wie dieser Terminus heutzutage gebräuchlich ist, nicht identifiziert werden. Es handelt sich offensichtlich um eine Verwechslung von Sprache und Schrift, aber das Wichtigste ist für uns momentan die Tatsache, daß der Terminus „uigurisch" sich hier auf eine türkische Sprache bezieht. In den russischen Übersetzungen der tatarischen Freibriefe sind ein paar türkische Worte erhalten, die wohl aus den türkisch abgefaßten Originalen entnommen sein können. In der Datierung des Diploms von Berdibek ḫān an den Metropoliten Aleksej, vom Jahre 1354, kommt der russische Terminus *eita godu* vor. An dieser Stelle ist bei anderen ähnlichen Dokumenten immer die Benennung des Jahres nach dem zwölfjährigen Tierzyklus zu finden, folglich hatte der russische Orientalist und Historiker VESELOVSKIJ recht, als er das unverständliche Wort *eita* in *enta* emendierte[7]. In diesem Wort ist das türkische Wort *yont* 'Pferd' versteckt[8]. Das mongolische Wort für dieses Jahr des Tierzyklus lautet *morin,* also konnte der russische Text nur aufgrund eines türkischen Originals ent-

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[4] Für die letzte, gute kritische Ausgabe dieser altrussischen Texte siehe: *Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, Moskva 1955, S. 463–491.

[5] Eine kritische Ausgabe fehlt auch in diesem Falle. Für ältere, manchmal sehr fehlerhafte Ausgaben siehe: J. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Rußland,* Pesth 1840, S. 517–522; L. MAS LATRIE, *Privilèges commerciaux accordés à la république de Venise par les princes de Crimée et les empereurs mongols du Kiptchak:* Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes 29 (6. Sér., 4. Bd.) (1868), S. 581–595; C. DESIMONI, *Trattato dei Genovesi col chan dei Tartari nel 1380–1381 scritto in lingua volgare:* Archivio Storico Italiano, quarta serie, 20 (1887), S. 161–165.

[6] DESIMONI, *Trattato,* S. 161.

[7] N. I. VESELOVSKIJ, *Neskol'ko pojasnenij kasatel'no jarlykov, dannych chanami Zolotoj Ordy russkomu duchovenstvu: Sbornik v čest' semidesjatiletija G. N. Potanina* = Zapiski Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obščestva po Otdeleniju Ètnografii 34 (1909), S. 527–532.

[8] Siehe G. CLAUSON, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish,* Oxford 1972, S. 946 (*yunt, yund*); L. BAZIN, *Les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux,* Lille 1974, S. 550–551.

standen sein. Gleichfalls ist der Name des Monats, *aram,* nur aus dem Türkischen verständlich[9].

Gehen wir jetzt zur Frage der Schrift über. In dieser Hinsicht bieten die genuesisch-tatarischen Verträge wichtige Beweise. In einer Urkunde ist vermerkt, daß das Dokument von einem Franceschin de Gibeletto mit uigurischen Buchstaben geschrieben wurde (*e anchora Franceschin de Gibeletto questa scritura scrive in letera ugaresca*)[10]. Die russischen Umschriften der türkischen Worte in den Herrscherurkunden zeugen davon, daß das Original nur mit uigurischen Lettern geschrieben gewesen sein konnte. Das Wort *daryka* z.B. ist eine Umschreibung des türkisch-arabischen Wortes *tārīḫ* 'Datum'. Das polyphone Zeichen des uigurischen Alphabets für *t* und *d* ist dafür verantwortlich, daß der russische Übersetzer, der die tatsächliche Lautung nicht kannte, bei der Interpretation dieses Wortes einen Fehler machte und anstatt der richtigen Form *tariḫ* oder *tariq* die Form *daryk* verwandte[11]. Solche Beobachtungen könnten noch nach Belieben vermehrt werden, doch soll hier die Feststellung genügen, daß die Diplome der Goldenen Horde im 13.–14. Jahrhundert in türkischer Sprache und fast ausschließlich in uigurischer Schrift geschrieben worden sind.

Es gibt sogar Beispiele für die Anwendung der uigurischen Schrift in der Goldenen Horde auch aus dem folgenden 15. Jahrhundert, und merkwürdigerweise in russischen Urkunden. Im vorigen Jahrhundert hat Obolenskij am Ende russischer Urkunden aus dem 15. Jahrhundert Aufzeichnungen in uigurischer Schrift gefunden[12]. Auf einem Schenkungsbrief des Großfürsten Vasilij Vasil'evič aus dem Jahre 1435 kommt folgender Text vor: *Bulay ong kördük* 'so haben wir das gutgeheißen'. Im Testament seiner Frau, Fürstin Sofija Vitovtovna, stehen die folgenden Worte: *altmišda nobarya ayïda* 'im [Jahre] sechzig, im Monat November'. Und schließlich findet sich im Testament eines Osip Okinfov folgendes: *altmiš yetidä, yanbariïng on yetidä* 'im [Jahre] 67, am 17. Januar'. Auf der Rückseite desselben Dokumentes befindet sich noch eine Aufzeichnung: *Andiräy bitigči* 'der Schreiber Andrej', die sich offenbar auf den Sekretär des Metropoliten bezieht. Was die Daten anbelangt, sind sie nach der alten russischen Zeitrechnung zu verstehen, also 60 = 6960 = a.D. 1453, und 67 = 6967 = a.D. 1459. Ähnlicherweise sind die Monatsnamen dem Russischen entlehnt (*nojabr', janvar'*). Wie können diese eigenartigen kurzen türkischen Aufzeichnungen in uigurischer Schrift erläutert werden? Nach Meinung

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[9] Siehe *Drevnetjurkskij slovar',* Leningrad 1969, S. 50–51, 476 (*aram, ram*); Bazin, *Les calendriers,* S. 476–477.

[10] Desimoni, *Trattato,* S. 165.

[11] A.A. Bobrovnikov, *O mongol'skich podpisjach na russkich aktach:* Izvestija Imperatorskogo Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva 3 (1861), S. 26; Veselovskij, *Neskol'ko pojasnenij,* S. 526–527.

[12] Obolenskij, *Vostočnye podpisi na starinnych russkich gramotach:* Izvestija Imperatorskogo Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva 2 (1861), S. 22–24.

Obolenskijs wurden diese kurzen Vermerke von den Beamten des Chans geschrieben, die als Vertreter des tatarischen Herrschers die Dokumente der russischen Fürsten beglaubigten. Aber diese Meinung ist ganz unwahrscheinlich[13]. Es wäre sehr sonderbar, wenn die tatarischen Beamten die russischen Urkunden nach der russischen Zeitrechnung und mit russischen Monatnamen beglaubigt hätten. Dagegen ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß diese Aufzeichnungen von russischen Schreibern stammen, die dadurch die Fälschung der Dokumente vermeiden wollten, oder diese Vermerke sind bloß Federproben von diesen Schreibern. Wie es auch immer sei, das Wichtigste ist für uns die Tatsache, daß das uigurische Schrifttum in den russischen Kanzleien, wenn auch sporadisch und vielleicht als eine Kuriosität, im 15. Jahrhundert noch bekannt war.

Wenn uns auch Existenz und Gebrauch eines in uigurischer Schrift geschriebenen türkischen Schrifttums in der Goldenen Horde des 13.–14. Jahrhunderts zu beweisen gelungen ist, müssen wir mit Resignation feststellen, daß nur zwei Dokumente dieser Art auf uns gekommen sind: das eine ist Toḫtamïš's Brief an den polnischen König Jagiełło aus dem Jahre 1393[14] und das andere unsere Urkunde von Temür-Qutluġ. Diese Umstände unterstreichen die Wichtigkeit dieser Wiener Handschrift ganz klar.

Jetzt ist eine andere zwingende Frage zu klären: Wer waren die Urheber und Träger dieses uigurischen Schrifttums in den Kanzleien der Goldenen Horde und der Timuriden? Die allgemeinen, vor der Mongolenperiode gut bekannten Termini für diese Schreiber-Sekretäre der Kanzleien waren *bitkäči* und *bitigči*. Beide Termini sind Nomina agentis auf *-či*, im ersten Fall von einem vermutlich syrischen Lehnwort *betgä* 'Schreibtafel, Dokument', im zweiten von tü. *bitig* 'Schreiben, Dokument' gebildet[15]. Die wichtige Rolle dieser Schreiber geht auch aus der Tatsache hervor, daß sie im Teil der Promulgatio in den Urkunden immer unmittelbar nach den Militär- und Zivilbeamten und den Vertretern des Klerus genannt wurden. Diese Bitigčis haben eine wichtige Rolle auch im zeitgenössischen mongolischen Iran gespielt. In den persischen Urkunden werden sie mit dem türkischen Terminus *bitīkčī* bezeichnet, während sie in den mongolsprachigen Urkunden als *bičigeči* auftreten[16]. Dieser *bitīkčī* kommt immer, wie

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[13] Siehe Bobrovnikov, *O mongol'skich podpisjach,* S. 24.

[14] I. N. Berezin, *Chanskie jarlyki* I: *Jarlyk Tochtamyš Chana k Jagajlu,* Kazan' 1850; V. V. Radlov, *Jarlyki Toktamyša i Temir-Kutluga,* S. 3–17.

[15] W. Bang, *Türkische Turfantexte* VI, Berlin 1934, S. 72, Anm. 264; A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik,* Leipzig 1950, S. 304; Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary,* S. 304, 302.

[16] Das Wort *bitīkčī* kommt in den persischen Quellen vom 13.–14. Jahrhundert sehr häufig vor, für diese Angaben siehe G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* II, Wiesbaden 1965, Nr. 718. – Für das mongolische Wort *bičigeči* siehe ein Dokument von Abū Sa'īd aus dem Jahre 1320 (L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques* 1: *XIIIe et XIVe siècles,* Budapest 1972, S. 259, in: Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta II) und ein anderes Do-

z. B. im *Dastūr al-kātib* aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, als die türkische Entsprechung des arabisch-persischen Terminus *kātib* 'Schreiber' vor[17]. Die Existenz dieses Würdenträgers der Dschingisidenstaaten kann wohl auch aus der Timuridenzeit nachgewiesen werden[18]. Während der Türkmenen- und Safavidendynastien sind die Bitīkčīs, zusammen mit der mongolisch-türkischen Kanzlei, aus dem Iran verschwunden. Sie haben ihre Stelle den Munšīs und Muḥarrirs, diesen mit arabischen Worten benannten Würdenträgern überlassen[19].

Außer dem Terminus *bitigči* wurde auch ein anderes Wort, *baḫšï*, für den „Schreiber" verwandt. Ähnlich wie *bitigči* und *bitkäči* war auch dieses Wort vor der Mongolenperiode im Türkischen bekannt: in der buddhistisch-uigurischen Literatur wurden die buddhistischen Lehrer so genannt. Das Wort *baḫšï* wurde aus dem Chinesischen als ein buddhistischer Terminus technicus ins Alttürkische übernommen[20]. Das türkische Wort ist dann auch ins Mongolische eingedrungen, wo es einen merkwürdigen Bedeutungswechsel erlebte, es wurde nämlich zur Benennung der Schreiber, die des offiziellen uigurisch-mongolischen Alphabets kundig waren[21]. Der Prozeß, in dessen Verlauf aus der Benennung eines kirchlichen oder geistlichen Würdenträgers der Name für Schreiber und Sekretäre wird, ist auch im Falle anderer Sprachen und Kulturen wohlbekannt. Begnügen wir uns hier mit dem Hinweis auf das altrussische Wort *d'jak* 'Schreiber', das letzten Endes auf das griechische Wort διάκονος 'Diakon' zurückgeht[22]. Das Wort *baḫšï* hat sich nach dem 13. Jahrhundert in dieser spezialisierten mongolischen Bedeutung auch in den türkischen Sprachen, verbreitet. Im *Codex Cumanicus* (Beginn des 14. Jhs.) steht das Wort *baqšï* als Entspre-

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kument von Šayḫ Uvays aus dem Jahre 1358 (G. Herrmann – G. Doerfer, *Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlaß des Ǧalāyeriden Šeyḫ Oveys:* CAJ 19 [1975], S. 71).

[17] In einem Ernennungsbrief wurde der Sekretär als *kātib-i aḥkām-i moġūlī* 'Schreiber der mongolischen Erlasse', in einem anderen als *bitīkčī-yi aḥkām-i moġūlī* bezeichnet, folglich *kātib = bitīkčī* (A. A. Ali-zade, hrg., *Muḥammad ibn Chindūšāch Nachčivānī, Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'jīn al-marātib (Rukovodstvo dlja pisca pri opredelenii stepenej)* II, Moskva 1976, S. 42, 44).

[18] Im *Šaraf-nāma* kommt das Wort دیبکچی vor, das vom Herausgeber zu بتیکچی emendiert wurde (H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit. Das Šaraf-nāmä des 'Abdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung. Persischer Text in Faksimile (Hs. İstanbul Üniversitesi F 87),* Wiesbaden 1952, S. 82, 168).

[19] Siehe V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk. A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration (circa 1137/1725),* London 1943, § 23, S. 61.

[20] Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary,* S. 321; *Drevnetjurkskij slovar',* S. 82; Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* II, Nr. 724.

[21] Mong. *baysi* 'teacher, instructor, professor, learned lama; master, mister' (F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1960, S. 70). Das mongolische Wort ist zum ersten Mal auf der um 1345 geschriebenen, in 'Phags-pa-Schrift verfertigten Inschrift aus Kiü-Jung-Kuan belegt (E 6, W 2: L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise,* Budapest 1972, S. 86, 88, in: Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta III).

[22] Siehe M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, Heidelberg 1953, S. 386.

chung des lateinischen *scriba* und des persischen *navīsandä*[23]. Die tschagataischen Wörterbücher kennen dieses Wort gut – als Benennung der Schreiber uigurischen Schrifttums[24]. Die Baḫšïs wurden immer den Kātibs, Munšïs und Muḥarrirs der arabischen und persischen Kanzleien gegenübergestellt.

Gleichfalls wurden im Persien der Ilkhane und der Dschalairiden die Schreiber der mongolischen Kanzleien *baḫšï* genannt. Das *Dastūr al-kātib* „Leitfaden des Schreibers" teilt drei Urkundenmuster zur Ernennung von Baḫšïs mit[25]. Die hier erwähnten Baḫšïs tragen türkische Namen (Ürük, Toġay, Qutluġ Buqa), und aus dem Ernennungsbrief von Toġay baḫšï geht klar hervor, daß er zum Schreiber für die türkisch-mongolischen Soldaten und Nomaden ernannt wurde (*ǰamā'at-i moġūlān va atrāk az laškariyān va ṣaḥrānišïnān ūrā bitïkčï-yi aḥkām-i moġūlī dānista*)[26].

Nach alledem, was bisher gesagt wurde, scheint es selbstverständlich, daß die Schreiber der Goldenen Horde und ihrer Nachfolgestaaten, des Kasaner und des Krimchanats, ebenso *baḫšï* genannt worden sind. Aber es läßt sich beobachten, daß die Urheber der krimtatarischen und kasantatarischen Urkunden, die im 15.–16. Jahrhundert in arabischer Schrift niedergeschrieben worden sind, ebenso als *baḫšï* bezeichnet wurden. Das führt zu der Feststellung, daß der Terminus *baḫšï* vom 15. Jahrhundert an auch auf die Fachleute des türkischen Schrifttums in arabischen Lettern ausgedehnt wurde. Im 14. Jahrhundert, mit der Erstarkung des Islam, gewann das arabische Schrifttum die Oberhand, und die uigurische Schrift kam allmählich außer Gebrauch. Das Jarlyk von Temür-Qutluġ vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts zeigt die letzte Etappe dieses Prozesses: die offizielle uigurische Schrift wurde noch beibehalten, aber eine interlineare Umschrift in arabischen Lettern weist deutlich auf den siegreichen Vormarsch des islamtürkischen Schrifttums hin. Doch der alte Terminus *baḫšï* wurde auch in die neue islamtürkische Periode hinübergerettet. Alles in allem läßt sich feststellen, daß der Terminus *baḫšï* eine ebenso allgemeine Benennung für Schreiber wurde, wie es der Terminus *bitigči* von Anfang an gewesen ist. Dieser Prozeß, in welchem die Termini technici lockerer, allgemeiner wer-

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[23] CC *scriba – nuisenda – bacsi* ūl [= vel] *biticci* (G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum,* Budapestini 1880, S. 91). Vgl. noch A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian Vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus,* Budapest 1971, S. 174–175. D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus,* Uppsala 1969, S. 160–161.

[24] Z. B. *Sanglaḫ,* 119 v 26: *baḫšï* 'navīsanda va dabīr va ḫvānanda va ǰarrāḥ [Schreiber, Sekretär, Sänger, Chirurg]' (G. Clauson, *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language by Muhammad Mahdī Xān,* London 1960). Besonders lehrreich ist die Feststellung des Wörterbuchs *Abušqa: Türkistan ṣâhlarınıng kâtiblerine derler ki Farsî bilmiyeler* 'die Schreiber der Herrscher von Turkestan werden so genannt, die Persisch nicht kennen' (Á. Vámbéry, *Abuska. Csagatajtörök szógyüjtemény,* Pest 1862, S. 29; V. Véliaminof-Zernof, *Dictionnaire djaghataï-turc,* Saint-Pétersbourg 1869, S. 125–126).

[25] Ali-zade, *Dastūr al-kātib* II, S. 39–46.

[26] Ali-zade, *Dastūr al-kātib* II, S. 44.

den, kann wohl mit dem der Devalvation der Ränge und Titel in Parallele gestellt werden.

Über die Tätigkeit und soziale Stellung der Baḫšïs auf der Krim und bei den Nogaiern kann man ein interessantes Bild aus den russischen Gesandtschaftsbüchern, den sogenannten *posol'skie knigi* erhalten. Nicht nur, daß die Baḫšïs als Kanzleisekretäre eine wichtige Rolle spielten, sie haben auch am diplomatischen Leben ihrer Zeit aktiv teilgenommen. Manchmal haben sie sich nicht nur der Feder, sondern auch des Säbels bedient. Tatarische Schreiber, *bakšej* in den russischen Quellen, befanden sich auch am Hofe der russischen Großfürsten. Diese Tataren haben die Korrespondenz und die diplomatischen Beziehungen mit den tatarischen Staaten, der Krim, Kasan, Astrachan und den Nogaiern geführt[27].

Neben den Bitigčis und den Baḫšïs begegnet man in den Quellen der Goldenen Horde und des Krimchanats noch dem Terminus *ḥāfiẓ*. *Ḥāfiẓ* ist ein wohlbekanntes arabisches Wort mit der Bedeutung 'einer, der den Koran auswendig kann', daneben wurde es auch schon früh als ein ehrender Beiname verwandt[28]. Dieser Terminus weist also eindeutig in die Richtung des arabischen Schrifttums, daher kann er sich nicht früher als im 14. Jahrhundert eingebürgert haben. Jedenfalls stammen die frühesten Belege erst aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, und zwar von der Krim und aus dem Kasaner Chanat. Ursprünglich muß *ḥāfiẓ* der Fachmann des arabischen Schrifttums gewesen sein, gegenüber dem *baḫšï*, der das uigurische Schrifttum vertrat. Doch verlor diese Gegenüberstellung nach dem 14. Jahrhundert bald ihre Bedeutung. Da das uigurische Schrifttum im 15. Jahrhundert in der Goldenen Horde und ihren Nachfolgestaaten in Vergessenheit geriet, wurden die beiden Termini *ḥāfiẓ* und *baḫšï* für die Schreibkundigen der arabischen Schrift verwendet. Es ließe sich eine Menge von Beispielen aus den russischen Quellen anführen, die deutlich beweisen, daß dieselbe Person einmal als *ḥāfiẓ* und einmal als *baḫšï* erwähnt wird[29]. Die Termini wurden offensichtlich promiscue verwendet.

Und jetzt, nach unserem Überblick über die Kanzlei der Goldenen Horde, in der auch unser Dokument von Temür-Qutluġ ausgestellt worden ist, gehen wir zu den Timuriden über. Oftmals wurde über die politische und kulturelle Wiedergeburt der Türken zur Zeit Timurs und der Timuriden geschrieben. Hier soll die Erwähnung genügen, daß die mongolischen Reichstraditionen in der Verwaltung und im Kanzleiwesen, trotz allem türkischen Einfluß, lebendig blieben. Bekanntlich hat Timur

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[27] Über die verschiedenen Baḫšïs und ihre Tätigkeit siehe G. F. Karpovs Sammlung russischer Gesandtschaftsbücher: *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij drevnej Rossii s deržavami inostrannymi: Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskoju ordami i Turciej.* I (1474–1505), Sanktpeterburg 1884, passim.

[28] H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch,* Leipzig 1958³, S. 172. Vgl. noch *İslam Ansiklopedisi* V/1, S. 64.

den Titel *ḫān* in seinem ganzen Leben nicht angenommen und jeweils einen Marionettenherrscher aus der Familie der Dschingisiden bei sich im Talon gehalten. Die quasi-sakrale Autorität des Herrscherhauses von Dschingis war so stark, daß auch Timur, der größte Eroberer Asiens nach der Mongolenperiode, diese ungeschriebene Regel der Welt der Steppe nicht zu verletzen wagte. Damit ist es zu erklären, daß Timur im Staatsleben einen besonderen Akzent auf die mongolischen Traditionen legte. Daher stammt der oftmals zutage tretende Zwiespalt in Timurs Leben: Einmal war er ein eifriger Muhammedaner und Bewahrer der Šarīʿa, des islamischen Religionsgesetzes, gleichzeitig aber scheint er ein Anhänger des Yasa, des mongolischen Gewohnheitsrechts, gewesen zu sein.

Dieser Zwiespalt ist auch im Kanzleiwesen der Timuridenstaaten zu beobachten. Nehmen wir als Beispiel den Timuridenstaat von Ḥusayn Bayqara. Es existierten zwei getrennte Kanzleien, eine persische und eine türkische. Die türkische Kanzlei befaßte sich mit den Angelegenheiten des Heeres und der türkischen Untertanen, sie hieß *tuvaǰï dīvānï, dīvān-i ʿālī, dīvān-i buzurg-i amārat* oder einfach *türk dīvānï.* Die Schreiber der türkischen Kanzlei wurden auf Persisch *navīsandagān-i turk,* d.h. 'türkische Schreiber', oder einfach *baḫšï* genannt[30]. Also finden wir hier wieder die Baḫšïs. Diese Schreiber der Timuridenstaaten waren nämlich Schriftkundige des uigurischen Schrifttums. Die Betonung der mongolischen Reichstraditionen führte Timur und seine Nachfolger, die Timuriden, dazu, in den türkischen Kanzleien die offizielle uigurisch-mongolische Schrift zu verwenden. Während das uigurische Schrifttum im 15. Jahrhundert in der Goldenen Horde fast verschwunden war oder höchstens sporadisch existierte, hat es in den Timuridenstaaten eine Blütezeit erlebt. Wir besitzen drei Originalurkunden aus den Timuridenstaaten des 15. Jahrhunderts, nämlich die Diplome von Šāhruḫ (1422), ʿUmar-šayḫ (1469) und Abū Saʿīd (1469)[31].

In der Goldenen Horde wurde das uigurische Alphabet nur im Kanzleiwesen gebraucht, während die im 14. Jahrhundert aufblühende islamtürkische Literatur der Goldenen Horde, die Werke von Quṭb, Sayfi Sarāyī und anderen, ausschließlich mit arabischen Buchstaben geschrieben wurden. Dagegen bieten die Timuridenstaaten ein interessantes Gegenbeispiel: Auch die literarischen Werke, besonders islamisch-religiösen Inhalts, wurden mit Vorliebe in uigurischer Schrift kopiert. Erwähnen wir hier das

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[29] *... s Išberdeem Afyzom, s bakšeem svoim, ...* (Karpov, *Pamjatniki* I, S. 173). *... Ešperdeju bakšeju ...* (Karpov, *Pamjatniki* I, S. 176). – *pisarʾ i bakšej Azi-Mendeja afyza* (Karpov, *Pamjatniki* II, S. 393). – *bakšeja svoego Danuʾafyza poslal* (Karpov, *Pamjatniki* II, S. 525).

[30] Roemer, *Staatsschreiben,* S. 169–170.

[31] J. Deny, *Un soyurgal du timouride Šāhruḫ en écriture ouigoure:* Journal Asiatique 245 (1957), S. 253–266; P. M. Melioranskij, *Dokument ujgurskogo pisʾma sultana Omar-Šejcha:* Zapiski vostočnogo otdelenija Imperatorskogo Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva 16 (1904–5), S. 01–012; Kurat, *Topkapı,* S. 119–134.

Sirāǰ al-qulūb (1432), *Miʿrāǰnāma* (1436) und *Baḫtiyārnāma* (1435). Die Abschreiber dieser Werke waren Baḫšīs, uigurische Schriftkundige der Kanzleien. Wir kennen manche Schreiber auch den Namen nach, unter anderen Malik Baḫšī aus Herat, den Kopisten des *Miʿrāǰnāma* und des *Taḏkirat al-avliyā,* und Manṣūr Baḫšī aus Yazd, der das *Sirāǰ al-qulūb* und das *Baḫtiyārnāma* abgeschrieben hat[32]. Herat, Yazd und Samarkand scheinen die größten Zentren dieser uigurischen Kopisten-Tätigkeit gewesen zu sein. Aber nicht nur zeitgenössische, sondern auch frühere literarische Werke wurden in diesen Werkstätten des uigurischen Schrifttums kopiert. Es sind Werke, die ursprünglich in arabischer Schrift verfaßt worden sind und jetzt in die uigurische Schrift übertragen wurden. So ist eine Kopie des *Muḥabbatnāma,* dieses choresmisch-türkischen Literarwerkes, das im Jahre 1353 verfaßt worden ist, 1432 in Yazd entstanden[33]. Und so ist die Entstehung der Herater uigurischen Abschrift des *Qutaḏġu Bilig* zu erklären. Das *Qutaḏġu Bilig* wurde von Yūsuf Ḫāṣṣ Ḥāǰib Balasaġūnī 1069/1070 – mit ziemlicher Sicherheit – in arabischer Schrift verfaßt. Auch die zwei späteren Abschriften (die Namanganer und die Kairoer Handschriften) wurden in arabischer Schrift abgeschrieben. Und jetzt, im Jahre 1439, entstand in Herat eine uigurische Kopie, die auf Grund eines in arabischer Schrift abgefaßten Originals zustande gekommen ist. Die Werke dieses spätuigurischen Schrifttums sind in der islamischen osttürkischen Literatursprache Mittelasiens geschrieben. Die meisten zeitgenössischen Werke sind früh-tschagataisch, aber durch das *Muḥabbatnāma* sind die choresmische Literatursprache des 14. Jahrhundert und durch das *Qutaḏġu Bilig* die karachanidische Literatursprache des 11. Jahrhunderts vertreten. Infolgedessen können diese Werke nicht anders genannt werden – worauf schon VÁMBÉRY, der erste bahnbrechende Herausgeber des *Qutaḏġu Bilig*, die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt hatte – als: „Sprachdenkmäler des mittelasiatischen oder čagataischen Dialektes in uïgurischen Schriftzeichen geschrieben."[34] Oder – wie RADLOFF diese Sprachdenkmäler genannt hatte – „mohammedanisch-uigurisch"[35].

Die Herater, jetzt in Wien befindliche Handschrift des *Qutaḏġu Bilig* führt uns nach Konstantinopel, der Hauptstadt des Osmanischen Reiches. Von dort ist nämlich die Handschrift durch HAMMER-PURGSTALL nach Wien gekommen. Es ist völlig verständlich, daß Temür-Qutluġs Jarlyk, eine Urkunde der Goldenen Horde, und die Herater Kopie des *Qutaḏġu Bilig,* ein Produkt eines Timuridenstaates, im vergangenen Jahrhundert nach Wien geraten sind, aber es ist viel rätselhafter, wie sie nach Konstan-

[32] A. M. ŠČERBAK, *Grammatika starouzbekskogo jazyka,* Moskva – Leningrad 1962, S. 48–49.

[33] J. ECKMANN, *Das Chwarezmtürkische: Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I, Wiesbaden 1959, S. 116; Ė. N. NADŽIP, *Chorezmi «Muchabbat-name», izdanie teksta, transkripcija, perevod i issledovanie,* Moskva 1961.

[34] VÁMBÉRY, *Das Kudatku Bilik,* S. 8.

[35] RADLOFF, *Kudatku Bilik.*

tinopel gelangten. Zu unserem Glück findet sich am Ende des Textes der Wiener Handschrift des *Qutadġu Bilig* eine Aufzeichnung laut deren die Herater Kopie in uigurischer Schrift im Jahre 1474/75 aus Tokat nach Konstantinopel zu ʿAbdurrazzāk Baḫšï gesandt wurde: *tariḫ-qa säkiz yüz yitmiš toquz-da yïlan yïl bu Qutadġu Biligi kitab-ni Abdur-raz(z)aq Šäyḫzadä baḫš-i üčün Istambul-da Toqad-dïn Fän(a)r-i oġlï Qaz-i ʿAli bitig yibärib kältürd-i-lär* „879, im Jahre der Schlange, wurde dieses Buch *Qutadġu Bilig* für ʿAbdurrazzāk Šäyḫzādä Baḫšï nach Istanbul gebracht, nachdem Fänārī-oġlï Qāḍī ʿAlī (ihm) einen Brief geschickt hatte."[36] Die letztere Person durch deren Vermittlung die Herater Handschrift aus Tokat nach Konstantinopel gesandt wurde, war ein berühmter Gelehrter seiner Zeit, der ausgedehnte zentralasiatische Kontakte hatte[37]. Aber wer war der Stambuler Baḫšï, der Empfänger der Tokater Sendung, und überhaupt, was sucht ein Baḫšï in Konstantinopel? Diese Fragen lassen sich dann beantworten, wenn wir uns erinnern, daß der osmanische Sultan Fatih Mehmet II. im Jahre 1473 einen Erlaß herausgegeben hat, in dem er über die siegreiche Vollendung seines Feldzuges gegen den Aq-Qoyunlu Herrscher Uzun Ḥasan berichtete[38]. Diese Urkunde wurde in uigurischer und arabischer Schrift geschrieben und ihre Sprache war nicht das Osmanische, sondern die islamische Literatursprache Mittelasiens. Demgemäß war diese Sprache und die uigurische Schrift auch bei den Osmanen im 15. Jahrhundert bekannt. Die Osmanen haben in ihren diplomatischen Beziehungen mit den asiatischen Türkstaaten die osttürkische Literatursprache verwandt, die im 15. Jahrhundert eine Art *lingua franca* der Türkvölker gewesen zu sein scheint. R. R. Arat, der Herausgeber dieser Urkunde von Fatih Mehmet, gelangte zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß die Urkunde von dem oben erwähnten ʿAbdurrazzāk Baḫšï ausgestellt wurde. Dieser ʿAbdurrazzāk muß ein Türke aus Mittelasien gewesen sein, der im Dienst des Sultans die osttürkische Kanzlei der osmanischen Hauptstadt geführt hat. Also er war die Person, die eine Kopie des *Qutadġu Bilig* in uigurischer Schrift bestellte. Mit seinem Namen verbindet sich eine Reihe von verschiedenen Werken, unter anderem auch das *ʿAtabat al-ḥaqā'iq,* dieses berühmte karachanidische Literarwerk, dessen Kopie er in uigurischer und arabischer Schrift im Jahre 1480 verfertigte[39]. Außerdem schrieb er Verse der früh-tschagataischen Poeten Sakkākī und Luṭfī, gleichermaßen in uigurischer und arabischer Schrift ab[40]. Da die uigurische und arabische

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[36] Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig* I, S. XXXIV.

[37] Arat, a. a. O.

[38] R. R. Arat, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in yarlığı:* Türkiyat Mecmuası 6 (1939), S. 285–322; V. G. Guzev, *O jarlyke Mechmeda II:* Tjurkologičeskij sbornik 1971, Moskva 1972, S. 227–243.

[39] R. R. Arat, *Edib Ahmed b. Mahmud Yükneki: Atebetü'l-hakayık,* İstanbul 1951, S. 27–28.

[40] O. F. Sertkaya, *Osmanlı şâirlerinin Çağatayca şiirleri* III: *Uygur harfleriyle yazılmış bazı manzum parçaları,* İstanbul 1972, S. 15–32.

Schrift von ʿAbdurrazzāk Baḫšī aus den obenerwähnten Autographen bekannt ist, kann die Schrift des Temür-Qutluġ-Diploms mit den letzteren wohl verglichen werden. Wegen der paläographischen Besonderheiten und des Duktus der Urkunde besteht eine große Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß der Abschreiber auch dieser Kopie ʿAbdurrazzāk Baḫšī war[41]. Wenn es richtig ist, daß die hier angeführten Texte zusammengehören, ergibt sich daraus eine andere Folgerung: der mit roter Tinte und in arabischer Schrift geschriebene interlineare Text des Temür-Qutluġ-Diploms ist nicht eine Besonderheit der Originalurkunde, sondern eine spätere Interpolation von ʿAbdurrazzāk. Er befolgte dasselbe Verfahren in allen von seiner Hand herrührenden Kopien in uigurischer Schrift. In diesem Falle aber kann die Digraphie der Urkunde nicht als ein Zeichen der Verdrängung der uigurischen Schrift in der Goldenen Horde interpretiert werden, – wie man gemeinhin glaubt – sondern sie ist als Einfluß des osmanischen Hintergrunds zu erklären.

Wie dem auch sei, die Tatsache bleibt, daß der westlichste Punkt der Verbreitung des uigurischen Schrifttums im 15. Jahrhundert die osmanische Hauptstadt war. Handschriften und Dokumente in uigurischer Schrift gelangten nach Konstantinopel sowohl aus dem Gebiet der Goldenen Horde als auch aus den Timuridenstaaten. Wie es so oft in der Geschichte der osmanischen Zivilisation geschah, hat sie wertvolle Denkmäler der östlichen Islamwelt bewahrt und für die Nachwelt gerettet.

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[41] Vgl. Guzev, *O jarlyke,* S. 242.

XI

MONGOLIAN IMPACT ON THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE GOLDEN HORDE

1. As is known, the whole chancellery practice of the Golden Horde, a Tatar state of the 13th–15th centuries, derives from Mongol origins. But unlike with the Ilkhanids of Persia who issued Mongolian documents throughout their rule, in the chancellery of the Golden Horde the Eastern Turkic literary language of the age was adapted for writing diplomas.[1] This adaptation was so successful that the Mongolian linguistic impact was practically limited only to the sphere of vocabulary and phraseology. Mongolian special terms were often taken over as loan words. Names of dignitaries such as *daruğa* 'governor', *bökevül* 'commissary', *çerbi* 'quartermaster', *tutqavul* 'police', *qaravul* 'sentry, guard' and names of taxes and services such as *yam* 'postal service' and *süsün* 'daily rations' are the commonest examples within this category.[2] It is striking, however, that most technical terms are native Turkic words and older Arabo-Persian borrowings. The only exception seems to be *daruğa*, the Turkic equivalent of which *basqaq*, has never been used in official documents, perhaps due to the fact that *daruğa* was the most prominent figure, one may even say, the symbol of Mongol domination in any conquered land,[3] hence the Turkic term could not supersede the more "prestigious" Mongolian one.

In this paper I will treat a few characteristic technical terms used in the documents of the Golden Horde, then touch upon the possible impact of the Mongolian suffix *-l* on the corresponding section of Turkic morphology.

2. A concentration of Mongolian influence can be observed in two parts of the immunity and grant charters of the Golden Horde. In the *narratio* of the

[1] For the chancellery of the Golden Horde, see Grigor'ev, *Mongol'skaja diplomatika XIII–XV vv. (čingizidskie žalovannye gramoty)*. Leningrad 1978; idem, K rekonstrukcii tekstov zolotoordynskih jarlykov XIII–XIV vv. *Istoriografija i istočnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki*. 1980, 15–38; M. A. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva Ulusa XIV–XVI vv.* Kazan' 1979 [henceforth: Usmanov, *Akty*]; Vásáry I., *Az Arany Horda kancelláriája*. Budapest 1987.

[2] For all these words and other Mongolian borrowings in Turkic, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. I. Wiesbaden 1963–1975 [henceforth: *TMEN*]. For *süsün*, cf. also I. Vásáry, *Susun* and *süsün* in Middle Turkic texts. *AOH* XXXI (1977) 51–59.

[3] Cf. Vásáry, The Golden Horde term *daruğa* and its survival in Russia. *AOH* XXX (1976) 187–197; idem, The origin of the institution of *basqaqs*. *AOH* XXXII (1978) 201–206.

documents the antecedents and circumstances of the diploma's issuing are narrated, while at the end of the diplomas, in the so-called chancellery clause certain moments of the narration are referred to again and the persons in charge of the case and the scribes' names are given. Five special terms are used in these sections which evidently testify to the direct influence of Mongolian chancelleries. Before delving into them in any greater detail it seems to be sensible to make a survey of the relevant parts of the diplomas.

In Temür-Qutluğ's yarlik, 1398, lines 12–21: *Bu yarlığnı tuta turğan Mehmedniñ öbege ataları{nı} burunğı kiçken Sayın ḫân çağıdın beri bire [recte: payza] yarlığ<lığ> râst tarḫanlıq yosunıça yürüp atası Ḥâccı-Bayram ḫocanı biziñ hân ağalarımız soyurqap tarḫan qılğan cergesin añlata ötün{dür}di irse* ***ötülin yöp körüp*** *Mehmed biziñ soyurğal bolup tarḫan bolup tursun, tidimiz.* "The forefathers of Meḥmed, holder of this diploma have lived as real tarkhans, supplied with *payza* and *yarlığ*, since Sayın khan's [i.e. Batu khan] time, and his father, Ḥâccı-Bayram ḫoca was given a grant by our khan brothers. Having revealed his rank of tarkhan and submitted a petition, we endorsed it and said: «let Meḥmed [also] be granted as a tarkhan»".[4]

In Uluğ Muḥammad's yarlik, 1420, lines 5–11: *Bu Tuğlu-biy ... töresi erdi tiyü uluğ ağamızğa yergesin etine ötündi. Ḫân ağamızıñ bolup Tuğlu-biyniñ yergesin añlap* ***ötülin yöp körüp*** *cergesini ... Kerçni bildüre tüsüdürmiz* [recte: *tüşürdümiz*] *irse ol yergelerin etine yarlığın körgüze Tuğlu-biy Ḫı[dır] birle ötündiler irse yarlığın işitip* ***ötüllerin yöpsünüp*** *bizniñ taqı soyurğal b[olup] uzağı kiçegen ḫân ağalarımızıñ yosununça Tuğlu-biyni ağalayu Ḥıdırnı Kerç ilin bildüre tüsüdürümiz* [recte: *tüşürdümiz*]. "This Tuğlu-biy, saying that ... was the law of ... , submitted a petition to our uncle. Our khan uncle, having understood the case of Tuğlu-biy, endorsed his petition and ... his case, and granted him Kerç. Then Tuğlu-biy and Ḫıdır presented their diploma and submitted a petition [again]. Having heard [the text of] their diploma we endorsed their petition, gave the people of Kerç, as a grant, to Tuğlu-biy and his brother Ḫıdır, in accordance with the custom of our formerly departed brothers"[5].

In Ḥâccı-Girey's yarlik, 1459, lines 5–9: *Bu yarlığnı alıp turğan Qırq-yirniñ qartları Sayyid-Aḥmad, Ḥâccike, Ḫoca-Maḥmûd, Ḥâccı-Muḥammad, Ḫıdır-şayḫ başlığ il qartları ötündiler kim ḫân ağañız Qırq-yir ḫalqına soyurğap tarḫanlıq yarlığ birip turu[r] irdi tip yarlığın körgüze ötündiler irse biz taqı* ***ötüllerini yöpsünüp*** *biziñ taqı soyurğal bolup evvel yosunça tarḫan bolsun, tidük.* "The elders of Qırq-yir, holders of this diploma, submitted a petition under the leadership of Sayyid-Aḥmad, Ḥâccike, Ḫoca-Maḥmûd, Ḥâccı-Muḥammad

[4] V. V. Radlov, Jarlyki Toktamyša i Temir-Kutluga. *Zapiski Vostočnogo otdelenija imperatorskogo russkogo arheologičeskogo obščestva* III (1888) 19–21 [henceforth: Radlov, *Jarlyki*]. — For a detailed description of this document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 2 (30).

[5] I. Berezin, Tarhannye jarlyki Krymskih hanov. *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* VIII (1872), appendix [henceforth: Berezin, *Tarh. jarl.*], 17–23. — For the correct dating and the attribution of the diploma to Uluğ Muhammad, see A. P. Grigor'ev, Žalovannaja gramota Ulug-Muhammeda. *Voprosy filologii stran Azii i Afriki* I. Leningrad 1971, 170–177. — For a detailed description of this document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 3 (31).

and Ḫıḍır-şayḫ and they said: «your khan brother had granted a tarkhan diploma to the people of Qırq-yir». After the presentation of the diploma we endorsed their petition and said: «let them [also] be granted as tarkhans, in accordance with the former custom».”[6]

In Meñgli-Girey's yarlik, 11 July 1468, lines 4–6: *[... barça il qartları ötündiler kim ḫân] babañız Qırq-yirniñ ḫalqına soyurğap tarḫanlıq yarlığ birip turur irdi tip yarlığın körgüze ötündi [irse* ***ötüllerin] yöpsünüp*** *biziñ taqı soyurğal bolup evvel yosunça tarḫan bolsun, tidük.*[7]

In Meñgli-Girey's yarlik, 30, September 1468, lines 6–9: *Bu yarlığnı tutup turğan Maḥmûdek, atası Ḫıdırğa soyurğal bolup bizge yarlığların körgüze ötündi irse* ***ötülin yöpsünüp*** *taqı [bizniñ] soyurğal bolup burunğı yosunça Ḫıdırğa soyurğağannı Maḥmûdekke soyurğaduq.* “Maḥmûdek, holder of this diploma presented his documents concerning the grant of his father Ḫıḍır. We endorsed his petition and, in accordance with the former custom, gave the [same] grant that had been given to Ḫıḍır, to Maḥmûdek».[8]

There are three Mongolian special terms in these texts which I do not want to treat this time; anyway they are well known and explained in the literature. One of them is *cerge* (or in its Turkic literary form *yerge*), a special term for ‘order/degreee of rank; lawsuit, procedure’ taken over from Mong. *jerge*. The fact of the sovereign's favour, i.e. the ‘donation, grant’ was referred to as *soyurğal*, a Mongolian term formed of the old Turkic verbal borrowing *tsoyurqa-* ‘to have pity, to be gracious’. Finally, the ‘customary law’ of the former khans was designated by Mong. *yosun* ‘custom, habit, use, practice’ which ultimately also goes back to Turkic origins.[9] But there are two more terms (*ötül* and *yöp*), less known and often misinterpreted, which will be the subject of the following pages.

3. For ‘application, request’ the term *ötül* was used which is a nominal derivative from **ötü-*, basic stem of the OT verb *ötün-* ‘to apply, request’.[10] The

[6] The original document is inedited, it is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 306). — For a detailed description of the document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 5 (32).

[7] The document, which is a contemporary unauthorized draft copy without seal, is inedited, it is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 310). — For a detailed description of the document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 7 (33–34).

[8] The only edition of the by now lost original: Berezin, *Tarh. jarl.* — For a detailed description of this document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 8 (34).

[9] For *cerge*, see *TMEN* i. No. 161 (291–293); for *soyurğal*, see *TMEN* i. No. 228 (351–353); for *yosun*, see *TMEN* i. No. 408 (555–557).

[10] For *ötün-*, see G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish.* Oxford 1972 [henceforth: *ED*], 62; E. V. Sevortjan, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov.* Vol. I–IV. Moskva 1974–1989 [henceforth: Sev.], 557–558. — The deverbal suffix *-Xl* forms nouns both in Turkic and in Mongol. In the latter it is much commoner than in Turkic. For the Turkic *-Xl*, see A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik.* Leipzig 1952 [henceforth: *ATG*], 72; C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens.* Leiden

form *ötül* is not known from other sources than the Golden Horde documents, only the form *ötüg* is well documented.[11] The form *ötül* must have taken root due to the influence of the Mongolian technical term *öçil* 'application'. The basic word of Mo. *öçil* is the same Tu. **ötü-/öti-* referred to above, consequently *ötül* is nothing else but a Turkicized form of Mo. *öçil.*[12] In the documents the act of petitioning was expressed either by the verb *ötün-* or by the phrase *ötül tegür-* 'to submit an application, to place a petition'. In a yarlik of the Crimean Khan Meñgli-Girey dated 3 August 1485: *Muḥammed beg ötül tegürdi* 'M. b. placed the petition', or in Sa'âdet-Girey's yarlik of March 1524: *Aqtaçı 'Alî bey ötül tegürdi* 'the steward 'A. b. placed the petition'.[13] In the contemporary Russian translations of the khan's edicts given to the Russian priesthood this Turkic phrase was rendered by *žalobu položit'* (Taydula to Metropolitan Feognost, 1351; Taydula to Metropolitan Aleksej, 1357) or *žalobu klast'* (Berdibeg Khan to Metropolitan Aleksej, 1357).[14] In the contemporary Latin and Italian translations of the khans' edicts given to the Venetian colonies of the Crimea, we find the following phrases: Latin *gratiam impetrare* 'to obtain the grace' (Cânibek Khan, 1342); Italian *domandare la gratia* 'to request for grace' (Cânibek Khan, 1347) and *sporgere la petition* 'to place a petition' (Berdibeg Khan, 24 September 1358 and 26 September 1358).[15] In two edicts of the Crimean Khan Ṣâḥib-Girey, both issued in 1550, the application for the issuance of a document was expressed by the phrase *yarlığ ötül qıl-* 'to apply for a yarlik'.[16]

1954, 115–116; A. Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy imienne i czasownikowe w języku zachodniokaraimskim.* Kraków 1932 [henceforth: Zaj.], 86–87.

[11] For *ötüg*, see *ED*, 51; *TMEN* II. No. 574 (134). — Doerfer (*TMEN* I. 353) even "corrects" the word *ötülin*, occurring in Temür-Qutluğ's yarlik, to *ötügin*, as if *ötül* were a mistake ["*ötülin* (wohl eher *ötügin*)"]. But the occurence of *ötül* in a great number of documents makes its real existence indisputable.

[12] The first occurences of *öçil* can be found in § 197 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols.* Budapest 1971, 161) and in the *Hua-yi yi-yü* (B. 3b, 4b: *öçil manu* 'our application'; L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise.* Budapest 1972, 151).

[13] The first document is inedited, it is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 309). Sa'âdet Girey's yarlik is preserved in the same place (D-222), it was edited by V. V. Grigor'ev, Jarlyki Tohtamyša i Seadet-Geraja. *Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej* I (1844) 340–346; I. N. Berezin, *Hanskie jarlyki* II: *Tarhannye jarlyki Tohtamyša, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet Gireja.* Kazan' 1851 [henceforth: Berezin, *Jarl.* II], 18–22. — For a detailed description of both documents, see Usmanov, *Akty*, 35–36, 38.

[14] For the best critical edition of all Russian documents concerning the Tatar khans' privileges granted to the Russian Church, see *Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, Moskva 1955, 364–491.

[15] For the editions of these and other Latin and Italian documents, see (J. von) Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland.* Pesth 1840, 517–522; L. de Mas Latrie, Privilèges commerciaux accordés à la république de Venise par les princes de Crimée et les empereurs mongols du Kiptchak. *Bibiliothèque de l'école des chartes* xxix, ser. 6, vol. 4 (1868) 581–595.

[16] Ṣâḥib-Girey's edict, issued on 3 May 1550 (= 15 Rabî' II 957), is inedited, the original is lost, a 19th-century copy is preserved in the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (Arhiv vostokovedov, f. 50 [fond V. D. Smirnova], op. I, No. 6, l. 93); Ṣâḥib-Girey's other edict, issued on 10 May 1550 (= 26 Rabî' II 957), is also inedited, the original copy is preserved in the Manuscript

4. The endorsement of the application was expressed by the phrase *yöp kör-* or *yöpsün-*, the basis of which is the word *yöp*. This word again testifies to the direct influence of the Mongolian chancelleries on the Turkic chancelleries of the Golden Horde, namely it was the borrowing of Mo. *jöb* 'correct, true, right; the right or correct side'.[17] The Mongolian word has been unknown in Turkic prior to the Mongol period, and even afterwards it is attested only in the documents of the Golden Horde and in Chagatay.[18] Among the contemporary Turkic languages it is known in Altaic, Teleut, Kuerik, Shor, Sagay and Tuvan, namely in those having a long-lasting contact with Mongol; in Kazan Tatar and Nogay it survived only in its derivatives.[19] For expessing the verbal notion "to endorse" either the verbal derivatives of *yöp*, namely the different phonetic variants of *yöpsün-* and *yöple-* were used[20], or the phrase *yöp kör-* known only from the yarliks of the Golden Horde. The forms *yöp körüp*, *yöpsünüp* in the yarliks correspond to the Mongolian form *jöbsiyejü* , a well-known phrase of the Mongolian documents. E.g. in Arghun Khan's letter addressed to Philip the Fair in 1289 (lines 12–13): *öčijü ilegsen-i činu jöbsiyejü* 'approving of the message

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Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 311). — For a detailed description of both documents, see Usmanov, *Akty*, 41–42.

[17] F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian–English Dictionary*. Berkeley–Los Angeles 1960 [henceforth: Lessing], 1072–1073. Mo. *jöb* has numerous derivatives, such as *jöble-*, *jöblegči*, *jöblel*, *jöbleldü-*, *jöblelgen*, *jöbleltü*, *jöbsi-*, *jöbsiye-*, *jöbsiyel-*, *jöbsiyemür*, *jöbsiyere-*, *jöbsiyerel*, *jöbsiyereltei*, *jöbsilge(n)* (ibid.).

[18] *Sanglaḫ* 211v 3: *çöp*; according to G. Clauson, *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language by Muhammad Mahdi Xan*. London 1960, p. 56, it is the first occurence of the word in Turkic, but the frequent use of the word in the diplomas of the Golden Horde must have escaped his attention. *Abuşqa*: *çöp* 'râst ve lâyıq ve gerçek ma'nâsına der' (V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Dictionnaire djagataï–turc*, Sanktpeterburg 1869, 246–247). All the Chagatay data are direct borrowings from Mo. *jöp*.

[19] Altaic, Teleut, Lebed, Kuerik *yöp* 1. 'die Passendheit, Richtigkeit, Einigkeit, Eintracht, Schlichtung, Beilegung eines Streites, Entscheidung, Auseinandersetzung, der Rath', 2. 'passend, tauglich' (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* I–IV. Sanktpeterburg 1893–1911 [henceforth: *Radl.*], III. 454); Shor, Sagay *çöp* 'passend' (Radl. III. 2047–2048), Tuvan *çöp* 'spravedlivo, právil'no; spravedlívost', právda' (*Tuvinsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1968, 543). A Crimean Karaim form *yöp* (Radl. III. 454) is dubious, it cannot be attested elsewhere. — For the Kazan Tatar and Nogay data, see the following note.

[20] CC (140, 11; 137, 20) *yöpsin-* 'to endorse, approve' ("iopsinip": K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*. Kopenhagen 1942, 127–128; cf. also N. Poppe, Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen. *Németh Armağanı*. Ankara 1962, 340); Nog. *yöple-* 'podderžívat'', Kaz. Tat. *yüple-* 'poddákivat', poddáknut'', *cöple-* 'id.' (evidently from another dialect) (*Tatarsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1966 [henceforth: *TRS*], 696, 778); Kuerik *yöplö-*; Altaic *yöptü-*; Teleut, Koybal, Kacha *cöptö-*; Sagay, Shor *çöpte-* 'id.' (Radl. III. 454–455, 2049). — In the CC (131, 26) there is also a phrase "iob sängänčä" which was interpreted as *yöp sanganča* by G. Kuun (*Codex Cumanicus Bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum*. Budapestini 1880, 183), evidently connecting the second element with the verb *san-* 'to think'. Since no such structure is known from other sources, I think it must be emended to *yöpsen-*. For the denominal verbal formatives *+sAn-* (reflexive desiderative) and *+sIn-* (reflexive simulative), see I. Vásáry, *±sXn* and its related suffixes. Studies in Turkic word formation and etymology. *Journal of Turkology* I/1 (1993) 114 (with further references).

you sent me',[21] or in Şayḫ Uways's diploma in 1358 (line 12): *šilγan soyubasu jöbšigejü* 'having examined (the petition) and acquiring information (we) endorsed it'.[22]

It is noteworthy that there is a Turkic word *ep*, similar in the formal and semantic respects to *yöp*, which has become the source of much misunderstanding since the time of Berezin's first editions of the yarliks of the Golden Horde.[23] The word *ep* 'ability, suitability, aptitude; consent, peace; suitable, appropriate' is known in a number of Turkic languages.[24] In Mongolian the word is also present as *eb* (in Khalkha *ev*) meaning 'agreement, harmony, peace; coordination; system, order; inclination, ability'.[25] Since the word *ep* is not attested in Old Turkic,[26] and later it is known mainly from the Kipchak and Siberian Turkic dialects, it is presumably of Mongol origin. The formal and semantic similarity of *cöp/yöp* and *eb/ep*, both of Mongol origin in Turkic, facilitated their confusion. E.g., the Uzbeg phrase *ep kùr-/ep bil-* 'sčitat' udobnym, podhodjaščim'[27] can be considered a variant of the phrase *yöp kör-* in the Golden Horde documents.

5. A very special form of Mongolian linguistic impact can be detected in the terrain of morphology. The deverbal formative *-(X)l* has been known both in Turkic and Mongolian, but in Old Turkic (e.g. *ınal* 'trustworthy, a title of office', *osal* 'negligence, idleness', *tükel* 'complete, entire', *yasul* 'loosened, relaxed') it was much rarer than in Mongol.[28] In the 13th–15th centuries, due to the increasing number of Mongolian borrowings in *-l*, the productivity of *-(X)l* in Turkic also increased. Thus, certain Turkic deverbal derivatives in *-Xg* or *-Xn* developed a variant of the same word in *-Xl* . E.g. in addition to *ötüg* 'request, memorial to a superior' the form *ötül* was also used (in Mong. both *öçig* and *öçil* were known; see **3.** above).

[21] A. Mostaert—F. W. Cleaves, *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des Ilkhans Aryun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel.* (Scripta Mongolica Monograph Series I. 1962).

[22] G. Herrmann–G. Doerfer, Ein persisch–mongolischer Erlaß des Ğalāyeriden Šeyḫ Oveys". *Central Asiatic Journal* XIX (1975) 70–71.

[23] According to Berezin, *Jarl.* ii. 34, n. 21, the word *ywb* of the yarliks means 'četa, pora' and it is identical with the word which means 'lad, priladnost'; ladnyj, prigodnyj' and the Mongolian word *jöb* 'ladno'. In his statement, Berezin confused three different words. 1. *yöp* in the yarliks comes from Mong. *jöb*; 2. Kaz. Tat. *cöp* (*TRS*, 778), Kirg. *cup* (*Kirgizsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1965, 269), Uzb. *cup, cuft* (*Uzbeksko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1959 [henceforth: *URS*], 160), Turk. *çift* (H. C. Hony, *A Turkish–English Dictionary*. Oxford 1957, 67), etc. are borrowings from Persian *cuft* 'pair', it is only by chance that the Tatar form *cöp* coincides with Mo. *jöb*; 3. finally, there is a Tatar word *ip* (*TRS*, 172) which goes back to *ep*.

[24] For the data, see Sev. I. 286–287; *TMEN* II. No. 631 (173).

[25] Lessing, 284.

[26] No data in *ED* and the *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad 1969); an Uyghur word in Radl. i. 916 cannot be attested elsewhere.

[27] *URS*, 556.

[28] For the deverbal formative *-(X)l*, see A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*. Leipzig 1950, § 117 (72); M. Erdal, *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon.* Wiesbaden 1991, 99–100.

Moreover, besides *tüşün* 'guest', derivative from *tüş-* 'to fall, settle' and synonym of *qonaq* 'id.', a form *tüşül* also came into use. The form *tüşül* is attested only in one yarlik of the Golden Horde. There, it means the same as *tüşün*, i.e. those official "guests", the khan's envoys and other state officials whose housing (quartering) was the unwelcome duty of the state's subjects. Exemption from this burdensome duty was an important item of the *tarqan*-privileges. In Temür-Qutluğ's yarlik of 1398 (lines 43–44) we read: *qonaq* ***tüşül*** *tüşürmesünler* "[official] guests should not be quartered [to them]".[29] In Ḥâccı Girey's yarlik of 1453 (lines 18–19): *éwleriñe küç birle qonaq tüşürüp qondurmasunlar* "guests should not be quartered in their houses with force".[30] In Ḥâccı-Girey's yarlik of 1459 (lines 13–14): *éwleriñe küç birle qonaq* ***tüşün*** *qondurmasunlar* "guests should not be quartered in their houses with force".[31]

Emig 'breast, udder', a derivative from *em-* 'to suck', had a variant *emil* in the formation *emildeş* 'foster-brother' (under the direct influence of the Turco–Mongolian hybrid word *kökeldeş* 'id.').[32] So the terms *ötül*, *tüşül* and *emil*(*deş*) can be attested only from documents pertaining to the Golden Horde and they owe their existence to the "Mongolizing" linguistic tendencies of the day.

[29] Radlov, *Jarlyki*.

[30] A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*. İstanbul 1940, 64–67.

[31] See note 6, above.

[32] For these terms in detail, see I. Vásáry, The institution of foster-brothers (*emildäš* and *kökeldäš*) in the Chingisid states. *AOH* XXXVI (1982) 549–562.

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XII

Immunity Charters of the Golden Horde Granted to the Italian Towns Caffa and Tana

The most important sources for the history of a state are indigenous narrative and diplomatic sources. Scholars of the history of the Golden Horde are faced with special difficulties in both cases. These narrative sources were written, nearly exclusively, in Arabic, Persian and Russian, the official languages of those countries that were on inimical terms with the Golden Horde. The Turkic-language sources concerning the early history of the Tatars (i.e. the period of the Golden Horde) are rather later in origin, although they frequently go back to and draw on valuable earlier oral epic character traditions such as Ötemiš Ḥājjī's *Ta'rīh-i Dost Sulṭān* (1558) or Abulġāzī Bahādūr Ḫān's *Šeǰere-i Terākime* (1659) and *Šeǰere-i Türk* (1666).[1]

Indisputably, archival material provides the most important sources of information relating to the Golden Horde and its successor states. The study of this material began with the investigation of the so-called *ханские ярлыки* 'regal charters' in the 18th century.[2] These 'regal charters' were the Russian translations of documents granted by the sovereigns of the Golden Horde to ensure the fiscal immunity and other privileges of the Russian Orthodox Church. The oldest surviving original Golden Horde document written in the Tatar language is the charter of Toḫtamïš Khan addressed to the Lithuanian Grand Prince Yagiełło (Yagayla) in 1393, and first published by I.N. Berezin in 1850.[3] Thanks to his work, subsequent generations of scholars have been able to make serious progress in investigating Tatar documents and charters, as demonstrated by the work of the Kazan Tatar scholar, M. Usmanov, who provided a clear picture of their activity.[4] It would be absolutely pointless to repeat his results here, and, in any case, I only want to refer to research conducted in the past twenty years. Above all, I would mention the works of

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1 Iudin 1992; Kononov 1958; Desmaisons 1871–4.

2 Shcherbatov 1774, pp. 495–7; Novikov 1788, pp. 10–26.

3 Berezin 1850; Radlov 1888, pp. 3–17; Kurat 1940, pp. 148–9.

4 Usmanov 1974.

A.P. Grigor'ev, M.A. Usmanov, A. Bennigsen and I. Vásáry.[5] A critical edition of all the immunity charters as well as the diplomatic correspondence of the Golden Horde and its successor states – the Kazan and Crimean Khanates – is still missing, despite the fact that the majority of the material has been gathered and prepared for publication, partly by M. Usmanov, and partly by myself. I do hope that this can soon be achieved.[6]

In this essay I will focus upon a group of the Golden Horde diplomas that have two features in common: firstly, they were all issued either by Golden Horde khans, or their Tatar governors in the Crimea, to the Italian towns of Caffa and Tana (Azaq) in the Pontic region, and secondly, the Tatar originals of these documents no longer exist although 14th-century Latin and Italian translations of them have been preserved to this day. These charters, four in Latin and eight in Italian, are valuable source material for studying the history of the Pontic territories of the Golden Horde. as the oldest Tatar-language Golden Horde document preserved in the original is Toḫtamš Khan's charter from 1393 (see n. 3, above). By contrast, all of the twelve Latin and Italian translations are dated prior to the issue of this document. Consequently, the significance of the Latin and Italian translations of these documents cannot be underestimated and can only be compared to that of the *six* 'regal charters' preserved in Russian translation. But while the *ханские ярлыки* have been thoroughly investigated with regard to both their historical and philological-linguistic respects, the Latin and Italian translations have been rather neglected. Although they are familiar to European historical scholars, have been published several times,[7] and been analysed and placed within the proper context of Levantine trade, due attention has not been paid to their significance within the chancellery tradition of the Golden Horde. Although I would like to re-publish these twelve documents with English translations and commentary, I will limit my remarks in this essay to a few essential points related to their study. These are: 1. A brief description of the documents; 2. Their historical background; 3. The problems concerning the language and script of the original documents; 4. An attempt at a linguistic reconstruction of the original documents.

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[5] Only their major works are given here: Grigor'ev 1978; Usmanov 1979; Bennigsen 1978; Vásáry 1987a.

[6] [Since the publication of this article A.P. Grigor'ev, published the contemporaryVenetian (Italian and Latin) and the Russian translations of the Golden Horde documents in two separate volumes: A.P. Grigor'ev and V.P. Grigor'ev, *Kollektsiia zolotoordynskikh dokumentov XIV veka iz Venetsii*. St. Petersburg, 2002; A.P. Grigor'ev, *Sbornik khanskikh iarlykov russkim mitropolitam*. St. Petersburg, 2004.]

[7] Hammer 1840, pp. 517–22; Mas Latrie 1868, pp. 583–95; *DVL* I, pp. 243–4, 261–3, 311–13; *DVL* II, pp. 24–6, 47–54; Desimoni 1887, pp. 162–5.

1. A list of the twelve documents is as follows:[8]

Translations in Latin:[9]

Gol 1	Özbek Khan, 1333
Gol 2	Jānibek Khan, 1342
Gol 3	Taydula, wife of the khan, 1358
Gol 4	Taydula, wife of the khan, 1358

Translations in Italian:[10]

Goi 1	Jānibek Khan, 1347
Goi 2	Ramaḍān, governor of Solgat, March 4, 1356
Goi 3	Ramaḍān, governor of Solgat, March 4-14, 1356
Goi 4	Berdibek Khan, September 13, 1358
Goi 5	Qutlu-Temür, governor of Solgat, 1358
Goi 6	Berdibek Khan, September 26, 1358
Goi 7	Čerkes beg, governor of Solgat, November 27, 1380
Goi 8	Ilyās beg, governor of Solgat, February 24, 1381

[8] In the abbreviations of the documents I followed the method used in my book (Vásáry 1987a): each abbreviation consists of three letters, the first two designating the state in which the document was issued, and the third letter stands for the language of the document. Consequently, Goi = Golden Horde document written in Italian, Gol = Golden Horde document written in Latin, Gor = Golden Horde document written in Russian, Got = Golden Horde document written in Turkic (Tatar).

[9] Published in the following editions: Mas Latrie 1868, pp. 583–6 (Gol 1, Gol 2); *DVL I*, pp. 243–4 (Gol 1), pp. 261–3 (Gol 2); *DVL* II, 53–4 (Gol 3, Gol 4). I verified all texts in the original.

[10] Published in the following editions: Hammer 1840, pp. 517–22 (Goi 1, Goi 4); Mas Latrie 1868, pp. 587–95; *DVL* I, pp. 311–13 (Goi 1); *DVL* II, pp. 24–6 (Goi 2, Goi 3), pp. 47–52 (Goi 4, Goi 5, Goi 6); Desimoni 1887, pp. 162–5 (Goi 7, Goi 8). I verified all texts in the original.

Ten of the twelve documents (Gol 1–4, Goi 1–6) are addressed to the Venetian community of Tana (Azaq), and *two* (Goi 7-8) are written to the Genoan colonies of Caffa. In most cases the documents were written and issued by the central chancelleries of the khan or his wife (Özbek, Jānibek, Berdibek and Taydula), but five documents were issued by the chancelleries of the governors of Solgat (Ramaḍān, Qutlu-Temür, Čerkes beg and Ilyās beg). The chronological framework of the documents covers nearly fifty years, from 1333 to 1381.

2. Through studying the historical persons, towns and dates, one quickly encounters the problem of the documents' historical background. Following the Tatar conquest in the second half of the 13th century, the Crimean peninsula, as well as the Pontic region, (the whole northern coast of the Black Sea), fell under the control of the Golden Horde khans. The three towns of Tana (Azaq), Caffa and Solgat mentioned in the documents became important towns of the Golden Horde state, and in the 13th–15th centuries they played a prominent role in international transcontinental trade. Though the foundation and history of these towns predates the 13th century, they grew and reached the apogee of their development in the 14th century.

The town of Solgat (or Solkhat) lies south-east of Caffa (now Feodosiia), in the mainland of the Crimean peninsula. From the 13th century onward it began to appear in sources as Qïrïm/ Qïrïm, and this town is identical with today's Staryi Krym (*Старый Крым*). Following the Mongol invasion, Qïrïm became the official residence of the peninsula's Tatar governor. Around 1265, Berke Khan granted the town to 'Izzaddīn Kaykavūs, the Seljuk sultan who fled from Byzantium, and whose son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd, later inherited it. The first silver coin minted by the Golden Horde in the name of Mengü-Temür Khan in 1267, derived from Solgat/ Qïrïm.[11] In 1395, this town with such a glorious past was devastated by Emir Timur. By the beginning of the 15th century, the old name 'Solgat' fell into disuse and was replaced by the name 'Qïrïm'. After 1475 and the capture of Caffa by the Ottomans, the name of the one-time capital became that of the whole peninsula.[12]

In the 13th century, Caffa was a coastal port lying not far from today's Feodosiia. The town's foundation goes back to ancient times when Greeks from Miletos colonised the region. The name *Caffa* first appeared in the work of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus compiled ca. 950, then disappeared from written sources until the 13th century. During those

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[11] [Since then, undated silver and copper coins minted in Qïrïm to Berke Khan's name have been discovered. These are the first Golden Horde issues from the Crimea, cf. http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto. php?photo=16156, accessed on January 29, 2007.]

[12] Barthold: *EI* II, pp. 1162–663 = Bartol'd 1965, pp. 467–9; Egorov 1985, p. 88.

centuries the most important port of the Crimean peninsula was the town of Sugdaia/Sugdak (Old Russian *Сурожь*, today *Sudak*). The emergence of Caffa is connected to the Genoans who purchased the town from its lord, a Tatar prince, in the 1260s. According to Rašīd al-Dīn and Abūlġāzī, this Tatar prince was Üren(g)-Temür, son of Toqa-Temür, thirteenth son of Joči, forefather of the Girey dynasty and the man from whom all later Crimean khans were descended. In any event, by 1263 there was already an Italian consul resident in Caffa, which indicates that the Genoans had settled in the town as early as the 1260s. The 14th century was the golden age of Caffa, a period when all the settlements in its vicinity fell under its jurisdiction. This territory was called Khazaria (*Gazaria*) as a reminder of the former Khazar presence in this region. Its population was diverse: Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Alans and Tatars comprised the majority, but Russians and Caucasians were also found there. From 1318 it housed the seat of a Catholic archbishopric whose jurisdiction stretched from Varna to Saray, the Golden Horde capital on the Volga. In the years prior to the Ottoman conquest in 1475, Caffa had 80,000 inhabitants and was a flourishing trading centre.[13]

Finally, the town of Tana is identical with Azaq, a town situated on the lower reaches, near the estuary, of the Don, not far from today's Azov. Azaq was a Golden Horde town, with its name appearing on coins as early as the 13th century. The Italian colonies were only formed in the 1330s, first those of the Genoans, with those of the Venetians developing a bit later. The Italians called their new colony *Tana*. This stems from *Tanais*, the ancient Greek name for the Don. The Venetians gradually took over the leading role in the town and revived its trade and economy. In the 14th century, together with Caffa, Tana/ Azaq became the most important trading centre in the region. Simultaneously, with the emergence of Tana, the capital Solgat, in the peninsula's interior, gradually lost its significance, since the main international trade routes passed through Tana and Caffa. After the destruction of Tana/ Azaq by Emir Timur in 1395, the town never recovered. The death knell of medieval Italian Tana, similar to that of other Italian colonies, was sounded by the Ottoman conquest in 1475.[14]

3. What was the language and script of the original documents which were then translated into Latin and Italian? In the texts of the translations there are several seemingly contradictory hints. The most important note comes at the end of Özbek Khan's diploma from 1333: "And I, brother Dominicus Polonus,

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[13] Barthold: *EI* II, pp. 660–2 = Bartol'd 1965, pp. 453–5; Egorov 1985, p. 89.

[14] Barthold: *EI* II, p. 550 = Bartol'd 1965, p. 313; Egorov 1985, pp. 92–4; M. L. Bilge: *İA* IV, p. 300.

of the order of the preaching friars [i.e. Dominicans], when commissioned, translated all that was said above, word to word, from Cuman into Latin, on the seventh day of August, 1333 AD" (Gol 1: *Et ego frater Dominicus Polonus, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, rogatus transtuli, de uerbo ad uerbum omnia supradicta, de cumanico in latinum, anno Domini millesimo III.c. XXXIIIo, die VII intrante augusto*). At the same time, there are two references in Italian documents saying that they were translated from Persian. The first is in Jānibek Khan's diploma from 1347: "This is a copy of the pact ... that was translated from the Persian language into Latin" (Goi 1: *Hoc est exemplum pacti ... quod translactatum fuit de lingua persayca in linguam latinam*). The other remark is in a letter written by Ramaḍān, Tatar governor of Crimean Solgat from 1356: "... these pacts were translated from Persian into Latin" (Goi 2: *Nota que questi pati fo translatadi de persescho in latin*). The references to Persian originals in these two Italian translations can, in all probability, be ascribed to some misunderstanding, since no Persian chancellery practice ever existed in the Golden Horde territories. In spite of the existence of Persian as a *lingua franca* in the transcontinental commercial routes of the Golden Horde, (especially in the Crimea, as the *Codex Cumanicus* demonstrates) no traces of Persian diplomas could be detected from the Golden Horde. [The only explanation could be that the translator confused the notion of language and script, as often happened in the Middle Ages, and simply meant that the original diploma was written in the Persian (i.e. Arabic) script.]

It can be taken for granted that the original documents issued by the Golden Horde in the 14th century were written in Turkic. Obviously enough, in the 13th century the official language of the chancelleries in the Mongol Empire was Mongolian. But towards the end of that century diplomas written in the local languages of the seceding parts of the Empire were also issued, for example Persian documents were first written in the chancellery of the Ilkhan Ghazan in Iran (1298–1304).[15] Similarly, it can be assumed that by the 14th century, Turkic had become the most frequently used language in the Golden Horde chancelleries. Linguistic analysis of the Russian, Latin and Italian translations also clearly testifies to the fact that the originals must have been written in Turkic.[16] The language used for writing these documents was the Eastern Turkic literary idiom of the 14th century, first called Oguz-

[15] The work of Rašīd al-Dīn cites *seven* diplomas of Ghazan Khan written in the Persian language, cf. Alizade 1957, pp. 426–32, 434–46, 466–76, 496–9, 510–17. – For the diploma of Öljeytü Khan dated October 2, 1313 (10 jumādā II 713 AH), see Siouffi 1896, pp. 336–7; for two diplomas of Abū Sa'īd Khan from 1330, see Papazian 1962, pp. 297–399.

[16] For traces of the Turkic originals in the texts of the Russian translations of the regal charters, see Veselovskii 1909, pp. 527–32.

Kipchak by A. Samoilovich, then Khoresmian Turkic by J. Eckmann, E. Fazylov and others. One of the characteristic features of the Khoresmian Turkic idiom was the large number of lexical elements of the colloquial Kipchak language of the day that it contained, so one cannot object that the contemporary Italian translator, as quoted above, called it *Cuman*. But it could, equally justfiably, have been called *Tatar*, another name for the colloquial language of the age, as the phrase *Tatar til* 'Tatar language'also occurs in the *Codex Cumanicus*.[17]

As far as the script of the original documents is concerned, the Tatar pacts with the Genoese of Caffa contain valuable hints. The Latin introductory text written before the documents claims that the original was written "in the Uighur language" (*in lingua ugaresca*) and "it was translated from the said Uighur language into Latin" (*translato de dicta lingua ugaresca in lingua latina*).[18] Later, in one of the Genoese translations (Goi 8) it states that "this document was written by Franceschin de Gibeletto with Uighur letters" (*e anchora Franceschin de Gibeletto questa scritura scriva in letera ugaresca*). Finally, in a Genoese document of 1387, both the language and the script of the Tatar documents were called Uighur (*a quo [i.e. a cano] habent speciale mandatum ad infrascripta ut apparet per litteras ipsius D. Imperatoris scriptas in littera ugaricha signatas Tamoga ipsius Domini Imperatoris, et lectas et vulgarizatas de lingua ugaricha in latinam*).[19] At the end of the translation, however, it becomes apparent that the original was written in the Tatar language (*et presentis instrumenti de lingua tartarica in latinam).* These texts must be interpreted as follows: the original Turkic (Tatar) documents were written in the Uighur script, and the reference to the Uighur language in the Latin text is simply erroneous, it derives from mingling the alphabet with the language.[20] The Uighur letters are even mentioned much later, in 1446, in the *Cartolario della Masseria di Caffa*, a Genoese document on the use of public revenues in Caffa. [This is from a Greek woman who knew the Uighur alphabet]: *Pro quadam muliere grecca que legit litteras ogarescha et pro ipsis legendis in palatio coram spectabili domino consule et consilio pro quando recepit litteras pactorum Imperatoris tartarorum et Commune Januae in Caffa occasione naufragii navium que de cetero franguntur in tartaria sive in territorio ejus in mari maiori ... Asp. LX.*"[21]

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[17] Grønbech 1942, p. 237; Kuun 1880, p. 229.

[18] Desimoni 1887, p. 161.

[19] Kuun 1873, pp. 33–4.

[20] For the problems of late Uighur literacy, see Vásáry 1987a.

[21] *Rendiconti dei lavori atti dalla società ligure del cav. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano segretario.* Genova 1867, p. 61 apud Kuun 1873, p. 31. According to Kuun the phrase *legit litteras ogarescha* must be interpreted as "[she] read the letters in the Uighur language" and not as "she read the Uighur

4. Once we have succeeded in proving that the originals of the Latin and Italian documents were written in Turkic with the Uighur alphabet, an attempt can be made to reconstruct, albeit partially, the original texts, using the already known Turkic documents. The reconstruction will proceed along two lines, the investigation of the diplomatic characteristics and that of the terminology. In this essay I will only show a few examples, but in my forthcoming book I will fully reconstruct the original texts.

First, the document's introduction, containing the invocation to God will be analyzed. This introductory part, called *invocatio* in the Latin charters, is also an essential part of the diplomas issued by the Slavic and Muslim chancelleries. The usual form of invocation in Mongolian diplomas was *möngke t(e)ngri-yin küčün-dür* 'by the strength of eternal God', was also written on the tablets of authority (*baysa*).[22] In the documents of the Golden Horde, this formula was generally translated into Turkic, but it could also be omitted or supplemented with Islamic forms. The Turkic translation of the Mongol formula is attested only in Ḥājjī Girey's diploma of 1456, as *mengü tengri küčünde* 'by the strength of eternal God'. The Turkic form is a literal translation of the Mongolian, and it perfectly harmonises with it even in its wording, since all three words are of Turkic origin in Mongolian. In the same document the Mongolian form is supplemented by the Islamic formula of *Muḥammad rasūlullāh vilāyetinde* 'by the power of Mohammed, Allah's prophet'.[23] The Mongolian formula is translated in the Russian *ханские ярлыки* as *безсмертного Бога силою* (Gor 1: Tölek Khan to Metropolitan Mikhail, 1379) or as *вышняго Бога силою* (Gor 3: Mengü-Temür to the Russian priesthood, 1267).[24] In diplomas given to the Italian towns, the Mongol form of invocation was correctly translated as *in virtute eterni dei* (Gol 1, Gol 2). The equivalent of the form *sua magna pietate miserante* 'by his great compassionate mercy' cannot be found in the original diplomas, hence it must have been an addition of the translator.

The well-known form *sözüm* 'my word' used to express the order of a sovereign in the Golden Horde diplomas, was the translation of the Mongolian *üge manu* 'our word', the only difference being the use of the first person singular in Turkic instead of the Mongolian plural form: *Toḫtamïš sözüm* (Got 1), *Temür-Qutluğ sözüm* (Got 2), *Muḥammad sözüm* (Got 3), *Ḥājjī Girey sözim* (Got 4), *Ibrāhīm sözüm* (Got 6), *Mengli Girey sözüm* (Got 9), *Muḥammad Girey sözüm* (Got 12), etc.

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letters". This opinion is unfounded since the form *ogarescha* in the phrase *litteras ogarescha*, instead of the regular form *ogareschas*, is either a scribal error or a vulgar Latin form.

[22] Grigor'ev 1978, pp. 18–33; Vásáry 1987a, p. 63.

[23] Kurat 1940, pp. 64–5.

[24] Priselkov 1916, pp. 91, 96; *PRP* 1955, pp. 465, 467.

This form was consequently translated into Italian with the word *parola* 'word, order': *La parola de Çanibech* (Goi 1), *La parola de Ramadan* (Goi 2), *La parola de Cotelletomur, segnor de Sorgati* (Goi 5), *La parola de Berdibech* (Goi 6). The Latin translations are a bit closer to the originals, as they use *verbum nostrum* 'our word' or *verba nostra* 'our words': *Osbach verbum nostrum* (Gol 1), *Zanibech verbum nostrum* (Gol 2), *Thaydellu verba nostra* (Gol 4). I do not think that the use of the first person plural in Latin instead of the first person singular of the Turkic texts, can be ascribed to the influence of Mongol *üge manu*; rather, because of the influence of the *pluralis maiestatis*, so common in medieval Latin, the Turkic word *sözüm* was translated as *verbum nostrum*, instead of *verbum meum*.

It is of special interest that in one of the documents of the khan's wife, Taydulla, the phrase *Thaydellu verba nostra* is preceded by the formula *ex voluntate Berdibech* 'by the will of Berdibek'. The use of these words clearly demonstrates that the khan's wife could practice power only 'by the will of the khan', and not 'by the power of God ' as her husband, the khan did.[25] The same formula is reflected in the Russian regal charters as *по Дченибекову ярлыку Таидулино слово* (Gor 4) and *по Ченибекову ярлыку Таидулино слово* (Gor 6).[26] In the first charter of Taydulla (Gor 1) this supplement is omitted. Similarly, the Crimean governors of the Khan in the town Solgat practiced their power 'by the will of the khan', as expressed in the forms *Cum la gracia de lo imperao, Iharcasso segnò* 'by the grace of the emperor, Čerkes beg' (Goi 7), *Cum la gracia de lo imperao, Elias segnò fijo de Inach Cotoloboga* 'by the grace of the emperor, Ilyas beg, son of Inaq Qutlu-boğa' (Goi 8). But in two cases the form *sözüm* is linked directly with the names of the governors: *La parola de Ramadan* 'order of Ramaḍān' (Goi 2), *La parola de Cotelletomur, segnor de Sorgati* 'order of Qutlu-Temür, lord of Solgat' (Goi 5).

In one of Jānibek Khan's diplomas (Gol 2) the following phrase is inserted between the *invocatio* and the formula *sözüm*: *Nos magnificus imperator generalis Zanibech cinis kan* 'We, the magnificent great emperor Jānibek Čingis Khan'. Such or similar phrases are unknown in the Turkic or Mongolian originals, so we must assume that this passage was inserted by the Italian translator. This is further corroborated by the use of *nos* 'we', a form of *pluralis maiestatis*. On the other hand, one must bear in mind that the identification of the actual Chingisid khan with his predecessor, the great Chingis, can be observed in Tatar tradition. In a Tatar version of the Edigü epic, Toḫtamïš Khan proudly says: *Узем Чыңгыз тугелме?* 'Am I not Chingis?'[27]

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[25] See already in Grigor'ev 1842, p. 60.

[26] Priselkov 1916, pp. 99, 104; *PRP* 1955, pp. 468, 470.

[27] Idegäi 1994, p. 13; Lipkin 1990, p. 12.

Finally, the Italian translation of Jānibek khan's diploma from 1347 begins with the following introductory words in Latin: *In nomine domini et Maomethi prophete Tartarorum* 'in the name of the Lord and Mohammed, prophet of the Tatars' (Goi 1). This phrase cannot be, in any way, the translation of an original Tatar text, so it must be a supplement of the Italian translator. His aim must have been the authorisation of the diploma through the use of forms acceptable to both parties: a Christian form for the Italian party and a Muslim form for the Tatar party. While the phrase *in nomine Domini* was an existing Christian form, the allegedly Islamic form, *in nomine Maomethi prophete Tartarorum*, was nothing but the invention of the Italian translator.

In the study of the terminology of the Latin and Italian translations I will focus only on one point: those Turkic or Turco-Mongolian terms that were not or could not be translated, hence the Turkic or Mongolian terms of the original text that have been preserved in the Latin and Italian translations. The three most characteristic notions of the Tatar chancellery practice were the diploma itself (*yarlïq*), the square vermilion seal (*al tamğa*) which was the means of authentication and the tablet of authority (*payza/ paysa/ baysa*).[28] The word *yarlïq* was not borrowed by Italian, as it was by Russian, but in each case it was translated by the word *comandamento* 'order, decree'. Conversely, the word *tamğa* 'seal' was generally rendered in Latin as *bulla* and in Italian as *bolla* (Gol 1: *cum bullis rubeis*; Gol 2: *cum bullis tribus rubeis*; Gol 4: *cum bulla*; Goi 4: *cum le bolle rosse*), and it remained untranslated only in one instance (Goi 1: *commandamento cum tamoga rossa*). The name *payza/ paysa/ baysa* of the tablets of authority, a term evidently derived from the Chinese *paizu*, is always left untranslated: *baisa* (Gol 1), *baissinum de auro* (Gol 2); *payssan* (Goi 1, Goi 4); *paisan* (Goi 4, Goi 8); *paysam* (Goi 7). The word *baissinum* is the Latinised form of *baysa*.

The group of terms pertaining to taxation are partly translated, partly retained in their original forms. The latter method is totally understandable since the majority of these terms had no precise equivalents in the Latin and Italian languages. But the name of the most important Golden Horde tax, *tamğa* 'commercial tax' is translated, as a rule, by the word *com(m)ercium* (Gol 1, etc.), *comerclo* (Goi 1, Goi 4, etc.) and *comerclum* (Gol 2: a Latinised Italian form).[29] The name of the tax-collector *tamğačï* is also translated as *comerzarius* (Gol 1), *comerclarius* (Gol 2) or *comercler* (Goi 1, etc.). The word *tamğa* remains untranslated only once: *elli debia pagar de tamoga II. per C. e non pluy* 'they must pay three percent as commercial tax (*tamoga*), and nothing more' (Goi 3). At the same time, the name of the tax for weighing (or using the balance) is generally

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[28] For these terms, see Vásáry 1987a, pp. 23–7, 46–9, 61–6.

[29] For *tamğa* 'commercial tax', see Spuler 1965, p. 317; *TMEN* II, pp. 554–65 (No. 933).

not translated, but the original word is preserved as *el tartanacho* (Goi 1), *lo tartanaco* (Goi 2), *lo tartana* (Goi 4).[30] *Tartanaqči;* the name for the official who was in charge of weighing in the markets, was not translated, but built into a Latin phrase as *illi de tartanacho* (Gol 2). Finally, *qantar*, used for the 'balance', and often also for 'the weight tax', was generally left untranslated as *lo canther* (Goi 1), *canter* (Goi 4).[31]

To conclude, it can be stated that the Latin and Italian translations of Turkic-language original documents issued by the khans and governors of the Golden Horde to the Genoans of Caffa and the Venetians of Tana between 1333 and 1381, can be considered invaluable source material for the history of both the Italian colonies of the Pontic region and the Golden Horde itself. Since the reviewed material has not been adequately investigated, an intensive study of these texts would be desirable, especially from the viewpoint of the history of the Golden Horde. The author of this article has in mind to undertake this task and will attempt to produce a critical edition of the Latin and Italian texts with translations and commentaries. This present article has provided readers with preliminary information about this work.[32]

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[30] For *tartanaq*, see Vásáry 1987b.

[31] For *qantar*, see Vásáry 1987b, p. 101.

[32] [As mentioned in n. 6 above, in the meantime, A. P. Grigor'ev, together with V.P. Grigor'ev, published the Venetian documents of the Golden Horde in a volume: A.P. Grigor'ev and V.P. Grigor'ev, *Kollektsiia zolotoordynskikh dokumentov XIV veka iz Venetsii*. St. Petersburg, 2002. Their work, though full of good commentaries and ideas, cannot be a substitute for a critical edition of the texts.]

Abbreviations and Bibliography

DVL I-II, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive Acta et Diplomata res venetas graecas atque levantis illustrantia.* Pars I, a. 1300-1350. Ed. G.M. Thomas. Venice, 1880; Pars II, a. 1351–1454. Ed. R. Pedrelli. Venice, 1899.

EI II *Enzyklopaedie des Islam* II. Leiden–Leipzig, 1927.

İA IV *İslam Ansiklopedisi* IV. Istanbul, 1988.

PRP *Pamiatniki russkogo prava* III. Moscow, 1955.

TMEN *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* I–IV. Doerfer, G.,Wiesbaden, 1963–75.

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XIII

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES OF THE *CODEX CUMANICUS*: PERSIAN AND CUMAN AS *LINGUAE FRANCAE* IN THE BLACK SEA REGION (13th-14th CENTURIES)

Following the Mongol conquests of the 13th century the largest ever existing empire in world history was created. By the 1280's the huge Mongol Empire stretched throughout the Eurasian mainland from China in the East as far as the Carpathian Ranges on the eastern borders of medieval Hungary, comprising dozens of various peoples, cultures and languages. As far as the languages are concerned let us mention only some of the major ones: in addition to Mongol, the language of the conquerors, Persian and various Turkic languages and dialects were also ubiquitous in the empire. Though initially Mongolian was the *official* language of the Empire in China, Iran and the Golden Horde, it could never substitute, even less suppress the local languages. The Mongols, as in questions of ideology and religion, were practically-minded also in matters of languages. Though they appreciated their own world-view and language the most, in sharp contrast to proselytising great religions and modern national movements, they never wanted to assimilate and integrate foreign cultures. The universal acceptance of Mongol political rule was sufficient for them, whence the practical task followed to maintain their rule and administer their huge empire. And the administration of such a vast territory required officials well versed in different languages. This is the basis of the famous Mongol tolerance in questions of ideology and culture, which could rather be labelled as indifference. In consequence, a multi-cultural empire was formed which created unique opportunities for *interpreters* and *translators*. These two categories of profession comprised people coming from different walks of life: merchants and diplomats, polyglot travellers and adventurers, as well as fervent missionaries of different confessions and bookmen of the chancelleries could find a place in this colourful layer of medieval intelligentsia. According to Th. Allsen's poignant words «language learning

and language competence became... a political asset»[1]. Interpreters and translators have always had important role in the Eurasian nomadic empires[2], but no empire before the modern age disposed of such a widely variegated institutionalised body of interpreters and translators as that of the Mongols.

In official use, the Mongol language written in Uyghur script was the most prestigious. At one place Juwaynī, as a self-conscious Persian, laments the fact that interpreters in Mongol Iran had undeservedly high social status, and these clerks of lower ranks «proclaim the Uyġur language and script to be the height of learning and knowledge»[3]. On the other hand, he himself admits that the Mongols used all sorts of languages and scripts in their chancelleries in the capital city of Qaraqorum where the illustrious Persian historian could gain first-hand information about the realities of the empire. He asserts that high officials of the court «are served by every type of scribe, scribes for Persian, Uyġur, Chinese, Tibetan, Tangut, etc., so that to whatever locale a decree is to be written, it is issued in the language and script of that people»[4]. Even after the separation of the Mongol *ulus*es, the official chancelleries of the Jochid state of the Golden Horde, Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan China had a constant and continuous demand for language facilities of the most various character, so it is not surprising that the 13th-14th centuries abound in language books of various types, mainly glossaries and grammars. Moreover, outside the Chingisid territories proper, namely in Mameluke Egypt, Russia and Europe, a lively interest arose in the main languages of the age, especially the Turkic dialects spoken in the western half of the Mongol Empire.

Besides Mongolian, the official language of the empire, certain intermediary languages (*linguae francae*) were needed in everyday discourse, especially in trade and commerce. If someone wanted to thrive in Beijing or Tabriz, as well as in the Black Sea region and Egypt, it was

[1] T.T. Allsen, *The* Rasûlid Hexaglot *in its Eurasian cultural context*, in *The King's Dictionary* [for the full title *see* n. 9, below], 35.

[2] For this theme, *see* D. Sinor, *Interpreters in Medieval Inner Asia*, in Asian and African Studies 16 (1982) 293-320.

[3] M. M. ibn 'A. Qazvíní, *The Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá of 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwainí*, Leyden-London, 1912–1937. I, 4-5; II, 226-27, 260; J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-malik Juvaini*, Manchester, 1958. I, 7-8; II, 490-91, 523.

[4] Qazwíní, (*cf. n.3),* III, 89; Boyle, *op.cit.* (cf. n. 3), II, 607.

not enough to master Chinese or Arabic, but one had to learn a *lingua franca* which was spoken and understood in all corners of the vast Mongol Empire, and even beyond its borders. Seemingly, in the Mongol period there was no universally accepted *lingua franca* as English nowadays, but there was a language, which played a similar role: Persian. The great French Orientalist P. Pelliot claimed several times that Persian had a universal role in the Mongol Empire[5]. Its quick spread and role was probably due to its central position within the empire and its ancient cultural traditions. It was the language that Marco Polo could use both in the Golden Horde capital Saray and in the Mongol court of Chinese Khanbaliq. The Great Khans and the Ilkhans of Persia also used this language in their correspondence with the Pope and the European sovereigns. They had the original Mongol diplomas translated into Persian to make the texts more accessible, since it was evidently easier to find a Persian interpreter both inside and outside their empire, than a Mongol one[6]. There are strikingly interesting examples

[5] P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or. Suivies de quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples finissant en «ar»*, Paris, 1949. (Oeuvres postumes de Paul Pelliot, II.), 164: «Le persan est la seule langue orientale, que Marco Polo ait vraiment connue et pratiquée à la Cour mongole». – For a nice treatment of this subject, *see* A. P. Martinez, *Changes in Chancellery Languages and Language Changes in General in the Middle East, with Particular Reference to Iran in the Arab and Mongol Periods*, in Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 7 (1987-1991) 103-152.

[6] For the Mongol and Persian diplomas of the Mongol khans and the Persian letters of the Popes and the European sovereigns, *see* A. Mostaert - F. W. Cleaves (Eds.), *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 15 (1952) 419-506, 8 tables; F. W. Cleaves, The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran, in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 16 (1953) 1-107; A. Mostaert - F. W. Cleaves, *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des Ilkhan Argun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962. – To give an early example of the Mongol-Vatican correspondence in Persian, let me refer to Güyük Khan's Persian letter dated November 11, 1246 written in response to Pope Innocent IV's former address, delivered from Karakorum and transmitted to the Pope personally by the famous Franciscan envoy and traveller, John of Plano Carpini: *Archivio Segreto Vaticano.* T. Natalini - S. Pagano - A. Martini (Eds.), Firenze, 1991, 104, table XXXVII; *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary.* Hungariae Christianae Millenium. I. Zombori, P. Cséfalvay, M. A. De Angelis (Eds.), published by the Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Conference. Budapest, 2001, 281 (the photograph of the Persian original, under No. 2.20, is printed erroneously on the basis of the negative photo); *Cronica di Salimbene de Adamo*, in F. Bernini (Ed.), *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1942, 187-88 (Latin translation of Güyük Khan's Persian letter written to Pope Innocent IV, dated November 11, 1246). –

of the knowledge of Persian in the Chinese chancelleries of the Mongol period[7]. Since numerous Muslim (*Huihui*) scribes were active in the Yuan court, separate schools were established in the Chinese capital for studying the *Huihui* language. In 1314 even a Muslim National Institute (*Huihui guozi jian*) was founded which after its abolishment in 1320, was incorporated into the Bureau for Communication (*Tungzheng Yuan*). Recently, in an excellent study, Huang Shijian clarified that the language referred to in the Chinese sources as the «Muslim (Huihui) language», could only be Persian[8]. But Persian was spoken and used also in the western Mongol Ulus of Jochi (alias Golden Horde), owing to at least two reasons. Firstly, the territory of Khwarezm where the subsequent Turkic conquests could never obliterate the basic Persian layer and character of culture, belonged for more than a century directly to the Khans of the Golden Horde. Secondly, the northern section of the ancient transcontinental trade route, the so-called «Silk route» has, from times immemorial, crossed Khwarezm. Then, in the western direction it led to the Lower Volga region, to Astrakhan, whence it took a northern detour to Saray, capital of the Golden Horde. Another, less frequented route reached Saray through Saraychik, situated on the

For Persian documents of the Ilkhanid and Jalairid periods in Iran, see M. Siouffi, *Notice sur le cachet du sultan mogol Oldjaïtou Khodabendèh*, in Journal Asiatique 8 (9. série: 1896) 331-45; Ḥājj-e Ḥoseyn Nakhjawāni, *Farmāni az farāmin-e dowre-ye Moghul*, in Nashriyye-ye Daneshkade-ye Adabiyāt-e Tabriz 5 (1332 = 1953-54) 40-47 = *Chehel maqāle ta'lif-e Ḥājj-e Ḥosayn Nakhjawāni*. Be-kushesh-e Yusof Khādem Hāshemi-nasab. Chāpkhāne-ye Khorshid: Tabriz 1343 [1964/65] 329-32; A. D. Papazian, *Deux nouveaux iarlyks d'ilkhans*, in Banber Matanadarani 6 (1962) 379-401; G. Doerfer, *Mongolica aus Ardabil*, in Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasians der Universität Bonn 9 (1975) 187-263; G. Herrmann - G. Doerfer, *Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlass aus dem Jahr 725/1325*, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 125 (1975) 317-46; G. Herrmann - G. Doerfer, *Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlass des J̌alāyeriden Šeyḫ Oweys*, in Central Asiatic Journal (1975) 1-84; G. Herrmann, *Zum persischen Urkundenwesen in der Mongolenzeit*. Erlasse von Emiren und Wesiren, in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*. Études réunies et présentées par D. Aigle. (Bibliothèque Iranienne 45), Institut Français de Recherche en Iran Téhéran, 1997, 321-31, 6 tables.

[7] These examples are nicely collected by Thomas T. Allsen, *The* Rasûlid Hexaglot *in its Eurasian cultural context*, in *The King's Dictionary*, (cf. n. 9), 34-37.

[8] Huang Shijian, *The Persian Language in China during the Yuan Dynasty*, in Papers on Far Eastern History 34 (1986) 83-95. – *See* also I. de Rachewiltz, *Some Remarks on the Language Problems of Yuan China*, in The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia 5 (1967) 65-80.

Yayik (Ural) river. From Astrakhan the caravans took the western road towards Azak at the Don delta, then towards the Crimean Italian colonies. So both the Golden Horde capital Saray and the Crimean ports, had direct contacts with Khwarezm where the dominant language must have been Persian. But disregarding the use of Persian in the international trade routes and caravanserais, and the predominance of Persian in Khwarezm, the most commonly spoken languages of the Golden Horde became the Turkic idioms termed by different names such as Cuman, Kipchaq or Tatar. Even the official Mongolian language soon gave way to the Eastern Turkic as the official language of the Golden Horde.

Whereas the main intermediary language in the eastern half of the Mongol Empire was Chinese, in the Islamic world Arabic fulfilled the same function. To a certain extent it played the same role as Latin in the medieval Christian West. Persian grammars and dictionaries as well as descriptions of the Mameluke-Kipchak Turkic dialects were written in Arabic. But there existed works written in Arabic that included also the Mongolian, Greek or Armenian languages into their scope of scrutiny. The best known and richest text of this type is the so-called *King's Dictionary* or the *Rasulid Hexaglot* compiled in the 1360's in Yemen which comprises a bulky Arabic, Turkic, Mongolian, Persian, Byzantine Greek and Armenian glossary, all written in the Arabic script. This compilation was edited and interpreted in an exemplary way by Peter B. Golden, with two brilliant introductory essays, the one written by himself, the other by Thomas T. Allsen[9]. There are several Arabic grammars and glossaries of a similar character, all of them from Mameluke Egypt, and representing different Kipchak Turkic dialects[10].

Using Allsen's terminology, it is this broad «Eurasian cultural context»[11] within which the subject of the *Codex Cumanicus* must be inves-

[9] *The King's Dictionary.* The Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol. Translated by T. Halasi-Kun, P. B. Golden, L. Ligeti and E. Schütz with introductory essays by P. B. Golden and T. T. Allsen. Edited with notes and commentary by P. B. Golden, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000. xii, 418, 24 facsimiles (Handbuch der Orientalistik VIII/4.).; P. B. Golden, *The world of the* Rasûlid Hexaglot, in *The King's Dictionary*, 1-24; T. T. Allsen, *The* Rasûlid Hexaglot *in its Eurasian cultural context*, in *The King's Dictionary*,(cf. n. 9), 25-48.

[10] For an enumeration of these works with bibliography, *see* Golden, *op. cit.* (cf. n. 9), 14-18.

[11] Allsen (cf. n. 1).

tigated. The *Codex Cumanicus* (henceforth: *CC*) is a unique work from the European medieval world. Because of its uniqueness, a special significance can be attached to it, since it comprises miscellaneous linguistic material concerning two important languages, Persian and Cuman, spoken as *linguae francae* in the Mongol Empire. It is not an official document or a literary text, but an ad hoc compendium of glossaries and texts compiled for the absolutely practical purposes of commerce and Christian mission. Its significance lies in the fact that it does not reflect the literary forms of the languages described, but certain *vernacular* forms of both, and what is more, uninfluenced by the traditional scripts (Arabic and Uyghur) otherwise used for their writing. Before proceeding to treat of some of the problems related to and emerging from the Persian and Cuman texts of the *CC*, I would like to summarise a few philological facts and clues concerning the sometimes mysterious history of these texts.

The *CC* contains miscellaneous material written in Latin (medieval Italo-Latin), German, Italian, Persian and Cuman. The present copy preserved in the Marciana Library in Venice is the end-product of several compilers' and even more numerous copyists' work throughout a period of at least 60-70 years (from the 1290's to the 1350's, the timespan may eventually have been even broader, in both directions), but basically it consists of two parts. The first 110 pages comprise the so-called «Interpreters' Book», while the second part is essentially a collection of Cuman texts of Christian religious content designed to be a «Missionaries' Book». (The presence in this part of the *CC* of a few dozen Cuman riddles, precious early monuments of the Turkic folklore, is by itself a «puzzle».) The *Interpreters' Book*, a Latin-Persian-Cuman glossary (1r-55v) must have been compiled by Italian interpreters towards the end of the 13th century to serve the commercial and trade purposes of the Italian Black Sea colonies. Only this part of the *CC* contains materials for the Persian language. The present copy of the *Interpreters' Book* was copied in the 1330's in a Franciscan monastery in Saray (capital of the Golden Horde) or the St. John monastery near Saray[12]. As suspected by most scholars, the most probable place of origin of the trilingual *Glossary* was Genoese Caffa in the Crimea, but later, it undoubtedly came to be used by all Italian colonies in the Black

[12] L. Ligeti, *Prolegomena to the* Codex Cumanicus, in Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 35 (1981) 52.

Sea region and Iran, moreover also by the missionary Franciscan communities of the Golden Horde. The Caffan origin of the *Interpreters' Book* was ultimately proven by Dagmar Drüll[13], who most convincingly pointed out that at the end of the 13th century when the trilingual *Glossary* was compiled, Tana at the estuary of the Don river, in the vicinity of Azaq, was only a point of transhipment for the Italian merchants, and the Venetians founded their permanent trade colony in Tana only later, in 1313. Consequently, the *Glossary*, which was brought about most probably in 1292-95 (a date suggested by Drüll), could not be written down in the then non-existent Venetian Tana, but only in Caffa, the commercial centre of the Genoese in the Crimea. In addition, the Caffan origin of the *Interpreters' Book* gives a plausible explanation why both the Persian and the Cuman languages were included in the *Glossary*. The use of Cuman, a Turkic idiom, needs no special justification in the Crimea since the Peninsula was densely inhabited by Turkic population, also prior to as well as following the Mongol conquest, while after 1241 it fell under the dominion of the Khans of the Golden Horde. But Genoan Caffa, in addition to being subject and tax-payer of the Tatar Khans in Saray, supported a trade colony in Iranian Tabriz since 1285. The Genoese in Caffa had continuous contact with Tabriz through the Anatolian Black Sea port Trebizond (Trabzon). Drawing on a detailed analysis of the trade items of the *Glossary*, Ms. Drüll claims that the author of the *Interpreters' Book* must have lived in or near Caffa, but had regular contact with and information on the Crimea-Tana and the Caffa-Trabzon-Tabriz trade routes.

After the first publication of the *CC* by Géza Kuun in 1881, the Persian material has for long attracted no scholarly attention, probably owing to the thin volume of the Persian vocabulary and the abundance of New Persian linguistic and literary sources. But in the wake of G. Salemann's path-breaking article[14], many studies have dealt with the Persian material of the *CC*. The two recent complete editions and analyses of the Persian vocabulary are Daoud Monchi-Zadeh's and András Bodrogligeti's books[15]. I raise two questions concerning the Persian material of

[13] D. Drüll, *Der Codex Cumanicus.* Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Stuttgart, 36-37, 136-37.

[14] G. Salemann, *Zur Kritik des Codex Cumanicus*, in Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, Sanktpeterburg, 1910, 943-57.

[15] D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus*, Uppsala, 1969; A. Bodrog-

the *CC*, and will attempt to find the appropriate responses to them. First, why and how was the Persian material included in the *Interpreters' Book*, and secondly, what is the linguistic value of the material?

The first question was partly answered in the foregoing part of this article. Suffice it to emphasise once more the outstanding role of Persian as the most important *lingua franca* of the Mongol Empire, from Beijing through Tabriz to the Crimea. But up till now, too much emphasis has been laid on the possible aim of compiling the Persian vocabulary to facilitate trade contacts with Ilkhanid Iran. The presence of Italian trade colonies (both Genoan and Venetian, as well as others) in Iran from the third quarter of the 13th century onward is a well-established fact[16], but one must not forget that the *Glossary* of the *CC* was written, then copied and circulated (then sold and resold?), in the Crimea and the broader territory of the Golden Horde. Had the primary goal of compiling the *Glossary* been promoting the Iranian trade, it would have been compiled by one of the Italian communities in Tabriz or elsewhere. Besides, the inclusion of Cuman would be quite out of place, if Persia had been the main target of the *Interpreters' Book*. It is to the credit of L. Ligeti that he drew special attention to Tana, the western starting point of the trade route leading to Astrakhan, Saray, Saraychik, Urgench in Khwarezm, then to Beijing, described in details by the Florentine Francesco Pegolotti[17]. As a whole, we can delineate the historical fate of the trilingual *Glossary* of the *CC* as follows. Having been written in the 1290's in Caffa or in a nearby town (like e.g. Solkhat), the *Interpreters' Book* served, from the moment of its inception, also the broader interests of the European communities living and acting in the territory of the Mongol Empire. It must have been used by the whole Italian trade community (also Venetians), both on the Tana-Saray-Astrakhan transcontinental route leading to China, and in the Crimea-Trabzon-Tabriz route leading to Iran. So the possible terrain of use of the Persian language as *lingua franca,* was very wide. The fact that

ligeti, *The Persian Vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 16), Budapest, 1971.

[16] For the history of Italian colonies in Iran of the Mongol period, *see* L. Petech, *Les marchands italiens dans l'Empire mongol*, in Journal Asiatique 1962, 560-74; J. Paviot, *Les marchands italiens dans l'Iran mongol*, in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole.* Études réunies et présentées par D. Aigle. (Bibliothèque Iranienne 45), Institut Français de Recherche en Iran Téhéran, 1997, 71-86.

[17] Ligeti, (cf. n. 12), 29.

probably several copies were made of the original, the present copy of the *Interpreters' Book* in the *CC* being the only one that survived, may serve as a proof that there was an intense need for such language facilities. But it was not only the Italian trade community but also the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries working *in partibus infidelium* that needed such grammars and glossaries. It is not by chance that a former, by now lost copy of the *Interpreters' Book*, as is attested in the beginning of the Venice copy, was copied in the Franciscan monastery of St. John, and the same *Interpreters' Book* was later also acquired by a monastery where German Franciscans lived to whom the German and Latin glosses of the texts of the *CC* can be ascribed. Recently A. M. Piemontese has published a series of intriguing articles in which he called attention to the significance of contemporary Latin-Persian glosses made by Dominican missionaries in Iran with the aim of facilitating the completion of Persian translations of the Gospels[18]. Finally, a further important aspect underlining the importance of the Persian text of the CC was propounded by L. Ligeti's fine observation that the present copy of the *CC* proves that for those person(s) who demanded and ordered the trilingual *Glossary* and *Grammar*, the Persian was more important than the Cuman since the Persian column follows the Latin and precedes the Cuman column of words[19]. Actually, Persian lost its «leading role» in the work only when the *Missionaries' Book* was attached and bound to the *Interpreters' Book*. The Christian mission was primarily addressed to the «pagan» Mongols, Tatars and Cumans, and not to the Muslim Persians. So admittedly, the Turkic language came to the forefront as an essential and indispensable tool in transmitting the message of the Gospel to the heathen.

The second question may now be raised: what sort of Persian language or dialect(s) are reflected in the Persian material of the *CC*? This question has provoked very different responses. Some scholars presupposed a Cuman linguistic filter in transmitting the Persian text, in other words the Persian words were allegedly written down and used by

[18] A. M. Piemontese, *Un testo latino-persiano connesso al Codex Cumanicus*, in Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 53 (2000) 121-132; Idem, *Le glosse sul Vangelo persiano del 1338 e il Codex Cumanicus*, in Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae VIII, Città del Vaticano 2001, 313-49; idem, *La via domenicana verso la Cronaca di Rašīd al-Dīn*, in Turcica ed Islamica in memoria di Aldo Gallotta, Napoli, Istituto Universitario Orientale (in print); and Piemontese's article in the present volume.

[19] Ligeti, (cf. n. 12), 29.

Cuman (i.e. Turkic) native speakers. Monchi-Zadeh goes so far as to suppose that, though the data originated from Cuman speakers, the scribes were Italian («Das von Fremden [Komanen] gesprochene and von Fremden [Italienern] geschriebene Persisch»)[20]. This opinion found its way into the handbook *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. In his entry on the *Codex Cumanicus* D. MacKenzie writes as follows: «The question why a form of Persian should appear in a work evidently compiled for practical purposes in this region has not yet been completely answered. Most probably Persian was used by the Turkish informants of the Italians as a lingua franca for trade in the east. As there is evidence that their Persian vocabulary had to some extent undergone a phonological change in common with their mother tongue, namely the development of medial and final *-d(-) > -y(-)* (e.g. OT *qadğu* 'sorrow' > CC [qaygi] *qayğı* 'mesticia'; cf. Persian *ḵarīdār* 'buyer > CC [ghriiar] **ḵarīyār* 'emtor', ... pīyar ...), it must have been acquired, at least in part, at a considerably earlier date»[21]. Unfortunately, he is totally incorrect in his assessment here since the Turkic *-d(-) > -ð(-) > -y(-)* change has nothing to do with the Iranian sound development in some of the Iranian languages and dialects. Seemingly, the excellent Iranian scholar had a superficial view of the rich literature on the *CC*, consequently it is not surprising that he had a very negative opinion of the value of the Persian material. Again he writes: «The use of Latin letters for the transcription of the two Asian languages is somewhat inconsistent, even within the «Italian» part of the manuscript, and thus the Persian material, comprising some 1,500 words, cannot entirely bear the weight of some of the phonetic and dialectological theories that have been imposed upon it by recent editors.» After enumerating some of the copying errors and inconsistencies of transcription MacKenzie comes to the conclusion that «... for all its interest, there are both too little uniformity and too much uncertainty in the material to make it a reliable source for any precise phonological or lexicographical study of medieval Persian.» Contrary to MacKenzie's unfounded skepticism, several researchers tried to define the Persian dialect used in the *CC*. The first task to be done was a description of the Persian language of the *CC*[22]. This task was excellently fulfilled by A. Bodrogligeti in his book, a text that any further research

[20] Monchi-Zadeh, (cf. n. 15), 14.

[21] D. N. MacKenzie, *Codex Cumanicus*, in Encyclopaedia Iranica, III, pp. 885-886.

[22] Cf. n. 15.

should rely on. Then, Ligeti added valuable pieces of linguistic observation to the Persian material[23]. Considering on the dialectal peculiarities of the Persian material, Salemann thought that a certain dialect of Khorasan could serve as the basis of the vocabulary, Monchi-Zadeh saw traces of Caspian dialects in the text, while Bodrogligeti himself emphasised the presence of Kurdish influence. Probably, all these observations contain some degree of truth, but I think we can never identify the Persian dialect of the *CC* with one Persian dialect. It was Bodrogligeti and Ligeti who for numerous times underlined the fact that the Persian language of the *CC* was a *lingua franca*. Now, this *lingua franca* was used along the great Eurasian commercial routes, in caravanserais where people of most diverse origin cropped up and gathered temporarily. Most of these merchants, envoys, agents and interpreters were not native speakers of Persian, and even if they were, they spoke their own dialects. All *linguae francae* are highly simplified and standardised languages, their main purpose being communication. The Persian language of the *CC* is no exception to that, and despite the fact that certain dialectal features can be detected in the texts, they cannot be attributed to one actual dialect of Persian. To a certain extent it is an ad hoc snapshot of Persian as it existed and functioned as a *lingua franca* in the 13th-14th centuries. No more, no less. As P. Golden put it very clearly «what we see reflected is not the living language of a native speaker, but rather a kind of simplified koine»[24]. In sum, while refuting the assumption that Cuman intermediaries were instrumental in transmitting the text, the Persian language of the *CC* can be identified as a special *lingua franca*, a mixture of different dialectal layers, spoken mainly by non-native travellers of the Eurasian commercial routes.

As far as the Turkic material of the *CC* is concerned, it displays much more linguistic value than the Persian vocabulary. Whereas, owing to the rich documentation of Persian, the latter's linguistic relevance is restricted and lies mainly in its interesting historical drawings on the spread and use of the Persian language, the Turkic material represents a unique linguistic corpus of the Kipchak-Turkic dialects spoken in the territory of the Golden Horde. Turkic languages and dialects are not short of historical documentation before the Mongol period of the 13th-

[23] Ligeti, (cf. n. 12), 31-41.

[24] P. B. Golden, *The* Codex Cumanicus, in H. B. Paksoy (Ed.), *Central Asian Monuments,* Istanbul 1992, 41.

14th centuries. From the 6th-13th centuries lengthy monuments of Turkic literacy written partly in the runic, partly in the Uyghur alphabets, have come down to us, while in the 11th-12th centuries a wonderful Turco-Islamic literacy was created, mainly in the Karakhanid territories in Central Asia written in the Arabic, partly in the Uyghur scripts[25]. The Mongol conquests brought about radical changes in the ethnic picture of Inner Asia, and new centres of Turco-Islamic literacy emerged. Khwarezm which fell for almost a century under the suzerainty of the Khans of the Golden Horde, was one of these significant new centres. The new Turco-Islamic literary tongue in the 13th-15th centuries in Central Asia and labelled by modern Turcology as *Khwarezmian*, is not a direct continuation of the Karakhanid literary language. One of its distinctive features is its lexicon which displays a special amalgam of Oghuz and Kipchak elements. One must stress that the monuments of both chronological layers of the Turco-Islamic literacy, namely the Karakhanid as well as the Khwarezmian ones, with the exception of a few examples (e.g. Kāshgharī's Turkic folklore material), represent more or less standardised literary forms and do not give insight into the spoken languages of the day. The Mameluke-Kipchak grammars and glossaries written in the 13th-14th centuries and the *Codex Cumanicus*, on the other hand, give us reliable, first-hand information on the Kipchak Turkic dialects of Western Asia and Eastern Europe.

The Kipchak or Western Turkic languages and dialects were first spread in the vast steppe regions of North-Western Asia and Siberia. They were spoken by the tribes of the Kimek, later the Cuman-Kipchak confederacy. The original homeland of the Kipchaks, westernmost branch of the Turkic-speaking tribes, was at the middle reaches of the Tobol and Ishim rivers in Southwestern Siberia in the 9th-10th centuries. In the middle of the 11th century a large-scale migration of the nomadic peoples took place in the Eurasian steppe zone, the result of which was that parts of the Kipchak confederacy appeared also in the Pontic steppe region, south of the Russian principalities. This historical event was de-

[25] For all these Turkic literacies, *see Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, vols. 1 and 2. For the Karakhanid literature, *see* R. Dankoff, *Qarakhanid Literature and the Beginnings of Turco-Islamic Culture*, in H. B. Paskoy (Ed.), *Central Asian Monuments,* Istanbul 1992, 73-80, where he convincingly proves that Kāshghārī's *Dictionary* and Yūsuf Ḥāṣṣ Ḥājib's *Qutadġu Bilig* were pathbreaking enterprises in creating a Turco-Islamic literacy (*adab*), but proved fruitless for the further development of Turkic literature which followed different ways in the Ottoman and the Timurid literary cultures.

scribed by the Persian Marvazī (ca. 1120 AD)[26] and the Armenian Matthew of Edessa (d. 1142 AD)[27]. It is noteworthy that, while Marvazī speaks of a people called *qūn*, Matthew of Edessa mentions, in its stead, the people *xarteš'* (the aspirated *-k'* being an Armenian plural suffix) in connection with the same event. At around the same time, towards the middle of the 11th century, the new conquering nomads of the Pontic Steppe appear in the Byzantine sources as Κούμανοι, Κόμανοι[28], in the Latin sources as *Comani*, *Cumani*[29], *Cuni*[30], in the German sources as *Valwen*[31], and in the Russian sources as *Половцы* (plural of *Половец*)[32]. The Armenian, German and Russian ethnonyms are mere translations of the term *Qoman/Quman*, meaning in Turkic (and in the respective languages) 'pale, sallow'[33]. This identification was quite clear to the contemporaries, as e.g. the Russian chronicles use the phrase *Кумани, рекше Половци* several times[34], and in a Latin source from 1241 the phrase *Comani, quos Theutonice Valwen appellamus* occurs[35].

[26] V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazí on China, the Turks and India.* Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary. (*James G. Forlong Fund*, vol. XXII) London 1942, 29-30. For a detailed analysis of this passage, *see* Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 95-104.

[27] Under the year 1050/1051, *see* in J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen,* in W. Bang-J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin, 1914, 54-55.

[28] Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, Berlin 1958², 167-68.

[29] For its occurrences *see* A. F. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCI.* vol. IV, Budapest, 1943, 46-47.

[30] *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum.* Edendo operi praefuit E. Szentpétery. I, Budapest, 1937, 518; II, Budapest, 1937, 646 and Gy. Györffy, *A kun és komán népnév eredetének kérdéséhez,* in Gy. Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, Budapest, 1990. 200-219. [First published in Antiquitas Hungarica 2 (Budapest 1948), 158-76; as separate offprint: 1-19.]

[31] Gombos, *Catalogus* I, 23, 171, 194, 269, 307-308, 424, 477, 505, 546, 776; II, 852, 880, 1318, 1331; III, 1732-1735, 1740, 1762, 1767, 1792-1795, 1826, 1858, 1863, 1880, 1884, 1903, 1957.

[32] Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása,* Budapest, 1930, 142-43.

[33] *See* J. Németh, *Die Volksnamen* quman *und* qūn, in: Kőrösi Csoma Archivum 3 (1940) 95-109.

[34] In the *Лаврентьевская летопись: Полное собрание русских летописей* I, 234, 376.

[35] G. Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis* IV/1. Budae, 1832, 213. – A few further examples in the *Floridi Horti Ordinis Praemonstratensis* under the year 1227: «*Chumanorum, quos Theutonici Walwein vocant*» (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* XXIII, 511), and in the *Annales Cracovienses compilati* under the year 1135: «*Plaucorum sive Comanorum*» (*Monumenta Poloniae historica* II, 832 and III, 347).

Though the new nomadic confederacy appearing in the Pontic region in the 11th century bore the name *Quman* in different sources, the Muslim sources continued to call them *Qipčaq*. What is the ethnical reality underlying this double usage of names? On the basis of Marvazī's text we may claim that the Kipchaks and Cumans were originally two separate peoples that merged by the 12th century. A cultural and political nivellation took place, and from the middle or end of the 12th century it is impossible to make any difference among the numerous designations used for the same tribal confederacy. Though originally used as names of different components of the confederacy, by that time these designations (*Qipčaq*, *Quman* and its various translations: *Polovec*, *Valwe*, *Xarteš*, etc.) became interchangeable: they denoted the whole confederacy irrespective of the origin of the name. As Marquart, the greatest authority on the ethnogenesis of the Cumans and Kipchaks put it: «Seit dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts sind die Namen Qypcaq, Polowci und Komanen nicht mehr auseinander zu halten»[36]. The best example to demonstrate this fusion of different names can be found in Guillelmus Rubruc, famous traveller of the 13th century who expressly identifies the *Qipčaqs* with *Qumans*. After leaving the Crimea for the East, he writes as follows: «In hac [sc. terra] solebant pascere Commani qui dicuntur Capchat [var. Capthac], a Theutonicis vero dicuntur Valani et provincia Valania, ab Ysidoro vero dicitur, a flumine Tanay usque ad paludes Meotidis et Danubium, Alania. Et durat ista terra in longitudine a Danubio usque Tanaym, qui est terminus Asie et Europe, itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando, prout equitant Tartari; que tota inhabitabatur a Commanis et Capchat, et etiam ultra a Tanay usque Etiliam, inter que flumina sunt X diete magne»[37]. At another place: «Et inter ista duo flumina [sc. Tanaim et Etilia = Don and Volga] in illis terris per quas transivimus habitabant Comani Capchac, antequam Tartari

[36] Marquart, *Komanen* (cf. n. 27), 78-79.

[37] *See* Guillelmus Rubruc, *Itinerarium* XII.6, in *Sinica Franciscana* I: Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII. et XIV. A. van den Wyngaert (Ed.), Quaracchi, 1929, 194-95. – *Valania* as a name for Cumania does not occur elsewhere, and it is probably an invention of Rubruc made of the German ethnonym *Valwe* in order to make a link possible between *Alania* and *Valania*. The two terms have nothing to do with each other either in the linguistic or geographical respects. For a description of *Alania* by Isidorus Hispalensis, *see* his *Etymologiarum libri*, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 82, 504.

occuparent eos»[38]. In the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th, the Kipchak-Cuman confederacy occupied an immense land stretch from the middle reaches of the Irtysh as far as the Lower Danube. This vast territory had never been politically united by a strong central power, before the advent of the Mongol conquerors in 1241. Although no Kipchak or Cuman empire existed, different Cuman groups were living under independent rulers or khans. The territory of this Kipchak-Cuman realm consisting of loosely connected tribal units, was called *Dašt-i Qipčaq* 'Kipchak Steppes' by the Muslim historiographers and geographers[39], *zemlja poloveckaja* 'Polovec land' by the Russians[40], and *Cumania* in the Latin sources[41].

After the Battle on the Kalka in 1223 the Cumans were dispersed and came under Mongol-Tatar rule. In the wake of the extended western campaign of the Mongols (capture of Bulgar in 1236, Kiev in 1240, devastation of Poland and Hungary in 1241) Mongol rule was also established in the western part of the Mongol Empire which came to be known as the Ulus of Jochi. It comprised the vast territories stretching from present-day Kazakhstan in the east to Moldavia, and the Danube delta in the west. The majority of population in the Ulus of Jochi was Turkic, and the Tatars (alias Mongols), having conquered Eastern Europe in 1241, mingled with the basically Turkic population of Dašt-i Qipčaq. The Mameluke historian al-'Umarī (d. 749AH/1348-49AD) unmistakably refers to the fact that through intermarriage, the Tatars (here evidently meaning the Mongols) totally merged with the Kipchaks[42]. It can be supposed that two generations after Batu's conquest, i.e. by the 1280's (end of Mengü Temür Khan's reign) the living knowledge of Mongolian totally dwindled in the territory of the Golden

[38] The Kipchaks are first mentioned as neighbours of Khwarezm in ca. 1030 AD (421 AH) by Bayhaqī, and the term *Dašt-i Qipčaq* occurs for the first time in Nāṣir-i Ḫusraw's *Dīwān*, replacing the former *mafāzat al-ghuzziyya* used by Iṣṭakhrī. For these data, *see* В. В. Бартольд, *Гузз,* in Сочинения V. Москва, 1968, 525 and *Кипчаки,* in Сочинения V. Москва, 1968, 550.

[39] Guillelmus Rubruc, *Itinerarium* XIV.3, in *Sinica Franciscana* I,(cf. n. 37), 200.

[40] E.g. *Полное собрание русских летописей* I, 522; II, 781, and passim.

[41] For occurrences in the Latin sources, *see* Gombos, *Catalogus* IV, Budapest, 1943, 47. Practically all the data for *Cumania* were attested in the 13th century.

[42] Al-'Umarī, *Das mongolische Weltreich:* al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār, ed. and trans. K. Lech, Wiesbaden, 1965, 73 (Arabic), 141 (German).

Horde. The question why the Mongol language was used in a broader circle both officialy and colloquially in Ilkhanid Iran, while, on the other hand, it soon disappeared from the Golden Horde could make for an intriguing subject of study[43]. When the short, stereotyped lines on the 'tablets of authority' or so-called *pai-zi* (*baysa*), are disregarded, no single official document written in Mongolian has come down to us from the territory of the Golden Horde. The question emerges whether the Mongolian language was ever used in the chancelleries of the Golden Horde. S. Zakirov and A. Grigor'ev tried to prove that originally Mongolian was the official language of the Golden Horde, and these documents were later translated into Turkic, and other languages[44]. M. Usmanov, on the other hand, claimed that practically from the first moment onward Turkic was the official language of the Golden Horde, used also, among others, in the diplomatic correspondence with the Mamelukes of Egypt[45].

I have fully accepted Usmanov's arguments and endeavoured to support it with others[46]. On the other hand, Usmanov has never denied, and I also share his opinion, that some official documents of the Golden Horde addressed to the Grand Khans in Qaraqorum and Beijing, and the early Ilkhans of Iran might have been written in Mongolian. Yet up till now no such document has come to light, since no original docu-

[43] The explanation lies, maybe, in Usmanov's convincing hint. To his mind, the Ilkhans and their Mongol retinue, being in a more «alien» linguistic media (i.e. Persian) than the Mongols of the Golden Horde, whose main subjects were Turks, adhered more to their paternal Mongolian language (M. A. Usmanov, *Жалованные акты Джучиева Улуса XIV-XVI вв.*, Kazan', 1979, 100-101).

[44] С. Закиров, *Дипломатические отношения Золтой Орды с Египтом (XIII-XIV вв.)*, Москва 1966, 65, 98, 100, 102, and elsewhere; А. П. Григорьев, *Официальный язык Золотой Орды XIII-XVвв.*, in Тюркологический Сборник 1977 (Москва 1981), 81-89.

[45] M. A. Usmanov, *Жалованные акты Джучиева Улуса XIV-XVI вв.*, Kazan', 1979, 94-101.

[46] A philological analysis of the Russian, Latin and Italian translations evidently proves that the texts were translated from a Turkic original (Vásáry I., *Az Arany Horda kancelláriája*. Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, Budapest, 1987; И. Вашари, *Жалованные грамоы Джучиева Улуса, данные итальянским городам Кафа и Тана*, in Источниковедение истории Улуса Джучи (Золотой Орды) от Калки до Астрахани 1223-1556. Казань 2002, 193-206). For the Turkic traces in the Russian «ханкие ярлыки» *see* Н. И. Веселовский, *Несколько пояснений касательно ярлыков данных ханами Золотой Орды русскому духовенству*, in Записки Русского географического общества по отделению этнографии (Сборник в честь семидесятилетия Г. Н. Потанина) 34 (1909) 527-32.

ments have survived from the first decades of the Golden Horde's existence. There is no denying that in all parts of the Mongol territories Mongolian was the first official chancellery language in the initial period (middle of the 13th century), and the local languages appeared in official use only towards the end of the 13th century, as for example Persian in Iran[47]. However, even if it is not excluded that Mongolian might have been used in the Golden Horde chancelleries in the first decades, from the 1280's Turkic was the official language of the Golden Horde. Unfortunately, no original Turkic documents have been preserved from the first 130 years of the history of the Golden Horde, but the contemporary (13th-14th centuries) Russian, Latin and Italian translations of the by now lost originals yield a precious clue in restoring the original texts. On the basis of original Turkic documents of the late-14th-15th centuries and the above-mentioned translations, one may assert with a great degree of certainty that the original Turkic documents of the Golden Horde in the 13th-14th centuries must have been written in the Khwarezmian literary language of the period, with an apparent predominance of Kipchak lexical elements as opposed to the Oghuz ones. In the contemporary Latin and Italian translations of some of the Golden Horde documents there are interesting hints as to the original language of the diplomas. At the end of the Latin translation of Özbek khān's diploma issued in 1333 to the Venetians in Tana, for instance, the following remark appears: «*Et ego frater Dominicus Polonus, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, rogatus transtuli, de uerbo ad uerbum omnia supradicta, de cumanico in latinum, anno Domini millesimo III.c. XXXIIIº, die VII intrante augusto*)»[48]. At the same time, there are two references in Italian transla-

[47] Rashīd ad-Dīn, in his *Jāmi' at-tawārīkh* gives the texts of *seven* Persian documents written in Ghāzān khān's chancellery during his reign (1298-1304); for these see A. A. Alizade (Ed.), Фазлуллах Рашид-ад-дин, *Джами ат-таварих (Сборник летописей)*, vol. III, Baku, 1957, 426-32, 434-46, 466-76, 496-99, 510-17. – For a diploma of Öljeitü dated October 2, 1313 (AH 713. jumādā II 10) *see* M. Siouffi, *Notice sur le cachet du sultan mogol Oldjaïtou Khodabendèh,* in Journal Asiatique 8 (9. série: 1896) 336-37; for two diplomas of Abū Sa'īd dated from 1330 *see* A. D. Papazian, *Deux nouveaux iarlyks d'ilkhans*, in Banber Matanadarani 6 (1962) 297-399.

[48] L. de Mas Latrie, *Privilèges commerciaux accordés à la république de Venise par les princes de Crimée et les empereurs mongols du Kiptchak*, in Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes 29 (6. série, 4. tome: 1868), 583-84; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive Acta et Diplomata res venetas graecas atque levantis illustrantia,* Pars I, a. 1300-1350. G. M. Thomas (Ed.), Venice, 1880, 243-44.

tions that they were translated from Persian. The one is in Jānibek Khan's diploma to the Venetians dated 1347 («*Hoc est exemplum pacti... quod translactatum fuit de lingua persayca in linguam latinam*»)[49]. The other remark is in a letter of Ramaḍān, Tatar governor of Crimean Solkhat issued on March 4, 1356 to the Venetians («*Nota que questi pati fo translatadi de persescho in latin*»)[50]. The references to Persian originals in the above two Italian translations could probably, be ascribed to the misunderstanding that, in spite of the existence of Persian as a *lingua franca* in the transcontinental commercial routes of the Golden Horde and the Crimea, no Persian chancellery practice ever existed in the Golden Horde, hence no trace of Persian diplomas could be detected from that area. The only explanation can be that the translator mixed the notion of language and script, as often happened in the Middle Ages (cf. further below the case of the Uyghur language and script), and he simply meant that the original diploma was written in the Persian (i.e. Arabic) script.

As far as the script is concerned, the contemporary Latin text written in 1383 as an introduction to the translations of two diplomas given to the Genoans in Caffa claims that the original text was written «*in lingua ugaresca*» and «*translato de dicta lingua ugaresca in lingua latin*». At a later place, in the translation of the diploma of Ilyas beg, Governor of Solkhat (February 24, 1381) reference is made to the Uyghur script of the original: «*e anchora Franceschin de Gibeletto questa scritura scriva in letera ugaresca*»[51]. In a third Genoan document from 1387 both the language and the script of the original are named Uyghur: «*a quo [i.e. the khan] habent speciale mandatum ad infrascripta ut apparet per litteras ipsius D. Imperatoris scriptas in littera ugaricha signatas Tamoga ipsius Domini Imperatoris, et lectas et vulgarizatas de lingua ugaricha in latinam*». Finally, at the end of this translation the language of the original is called Tatar: «*et*

[49] J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland,* Pesth, 1840, 517-19; L. de Mas Latrie, (cf. n. 48), 587-89; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum.* Pars I, a. 1300-1350. G. M. Thomas (Ed.), Venice, 1880, 311-13.

[50] L. de Mas Latrie, (cf. n. 48), 589-90; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive Acta et Diplomata res venetas graecas atque levantis illustrantia.* Pars II, a. 1351-1454. G. M. Thomas (Ed.), Venice, 1899, 24-25.

[51] C. Desimoni, *Trattato dei Genovesi col chan dei Tartari nel 1380–1381 scritto in lingua volgare*, in Archivio Storico Italiano, quarta serie 20 (1887) 161.

presentis instrumenti de lingua tartarica in latinam»[52]. (The latter term occurs also in the *CC* as *tatar til* 'the Tatar language'[53]). On the basis of what has been presented so far, it becomes obvious that language and script were often mixed in medieval minds[54]. To conclude, we may say that the original texts were written in Turkic, and this language was then labeled by contemporary foreigners (like the Italians of Caffa and Genoa) in a very loose way, once as Cuman, once as Uyghur (referring to the original script), and once as Tatar (referring to the origins of the statehood). These Turkic texts of the Golden Horde were written both in the Uyghur and the Arabic (or «Persian») scripts[55].

The linguistic significance of the Turkic texts must be assessed in the light of the background delineated above. Its significance lies first and foremost in its being a spoken language. There are basically two Kipchak dialects represented in the *Codex*, the one spoken in the Crimean region and noted down by Italian scribes, the other spoken somewhere farther in the central territories, transcribed and used by the Franciscan monks. The closest linguistic kin to these texts can be found in the material of the Mameluke Arab-Turkic glossaries of the 13th-14th centuries, but the Turkic material of the *CC* is by far more apt for linguistic evaluation, since it contains texts of different lengths[56]. The Turkic

[52] G. Kuun, *Adalékok Krim történetéhez* (Értekezések a Nyelv- és Széptudományok köréből. III. kötet, X. szám), Budapest, 1873, 33-34.

[53] K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch.* Türkisches Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus, Kopenhagen, 1942, 237; *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum.* Primum ex integro edidit prolegomenis notis et compluribus glossariis instruxit Comes Géza Kuun, Budapest, 1880, 229.

[54] The «Uyghur letters» were mentioned as late as in 1446, in a Genoan document entitled *Cartolario della Masseria di Caffa*: «Pro quadam muliere grecca que legit *litteras ogarescha* et pro ipsis legendis in palatio coram spectabili domino consule et consilio pro quando recepit litteras pactorum Imperatoris tartarorum et Commune Januae in Caffa occasione naufragii navium que de cetero franguntur in tartaria sive in territorio ejus in mari maiori... Asp. LX.» (*Rendiconti dei lavori atti dalla società ligure del cav. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano segretario,* Genova, 1867, 61 *apud* G. Kuun, *Adalékok Krim történetéhez* [cf. n. 52], 1873, 31).

[55] For the problems of Turkic literacy in the Uyghur and Arabic scripts, *cf.* I. Vásáry, *Bemerkungen zum uigurischen Schrifttum in der Goldenen Horde und bei den Timuriden*, in Ural-altaische Jahrbücher, Neue Folge 7 (1987) 115-26.

[56] The best edition and linguistic evaluation of the Turkic texts of the *CC* can be found in V. Drimba, *Syntaxe comane.* Bucarest, Leiden, 1973. For a complete critical bibliography of the extended literature on the Turkic material of the *CC*, *see* V. Drimba, *Codex Comanicus.* Edition diplomatique aves fac-similés, Bucarest 2000, 11-23.

texts of the *CC* are of differing value, mainly because they owe their existence to different persons with different degrees of Cuman language competence. Some of the texts, especially the religious hymns show real poetic beauty and literary merit, while some of the texts are rather rudimentary and display features of «un-Turkic» syntaxes and even grammatical errors, thereby bearing unmistakable traces of the foreign origin (German, Italian, etc.) of their authors. However, the indisputable role of non-native speakers in bringing about the Cuman texts of the *CC* must not be exaggerated. In spite of and together with all its eventual shortcomings, the Turkic material of the *Codex Cumanicus*, as it has been preserved in the unique copy of the Marciana Library in Venice, is undoubtedly the most precious collection of medieval Kipchak Turkic texts, both in linguistic and literary respects. The linguistic value of the Turkic material of the *CC* for Turkic linguistics cannot be overemphasised. These texts represent the linguistic antecedents of all the modern Kipchak languages and dialects, from Karaim through Kazan Tatar to Kazak, without yielding any easy booty to linguistic nationalists (or nationalistic linguists?) for expropriating the *CC* for themselves. The Turkic material of the *Codex Cumanicus* is a common heritage of the Kipchak Turkic peoples of today.

XIV

A CONTRACT OF THE CRIMEAN KHAN MÄNGLI GIRÄY AND THE INHABITANTS OF QÏRQ-YER FROM 1478/79

Urban culture has deep roots in the Crimean peninsula. Beginning with the first Greek colonies, urban cultural centres, though changing in form and location, have never ceased to exist there. Owing to its geographical location – favourable for commerce – and luring richess the Crimea has always been subject to nomadic incursions from the North. Political rule often changed, and each nomadic newcomer tried to find an appropriate *modus vivendi* with the then already present urban population. Although senseless destruction and depredation, typical for all nomads, was not absent either, peaceful coexistence between the nomads and city-dwellers was prevalent after the destructiveness of the Mongol period. In the age of the Golden Horde, the Tatar khans promoted urban handicraft and trade by granting privileges to towns. The Crimean Tatar khans continued this tradition of urban tutelary politics, and several documents issued by them testify to this effect. One of the ancient towns of the Crimea was Qïrq-yer. It was first mentioned under this name by Abū'l-fidā who states that it was inhabited by Alans.[1] The name *Qïrq-yer*, meaning "forty places" in Turkic, is probably a folk etymological form of a distorted Greek name. Later in the 16–17th centuries it became known as *Čufut-qalä*, "fortress of the Jews," owing to the preponderantly Karaim-Jewish population of the town.[2] Qïrq-yer, which was a heavily fortified place in the vicinity

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[1] *Géographie d'Aboulféda.* Texte arabe publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Leyde par M. Reinaud et M. le Bon Mac Guckin de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 214.

[2] On these names and the history of Qïrq-yer see V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe chanstvo pod verchovenstvom otomanskoj porty do načala XVIII veka*, Sankt-peterburg 1897, pp. 102–115; W. Barthold: *EI* I, pp. 584–585.

of the later residence of the Crimean khans, Baḫčisarāy, had a mixed population already in the 15th century. Three religious communities were represented, namely the Muslims, the Armenians and the Karaite Jews. The Muslims were Tatars, and the Karaims must have also spoken the Tatar dialects of the peninsula. The inhabitants of the town were given privileges, which were confirmed by each subsequent khan. The first immunity charter given by Ḥāǰǰī Giray, the first Crimean khan to Qïrq-yer, is dated 1st ṣafar 864, i.e. November 27, 1459,[3] although there is a reference in it to a former diploma given to the inhabitants of Qïrq-yer (line 7: *Qïrq-yer ḫalqïna tarḫanlïq yarlïġ berip*). The privileges were confirmed by Mängli Giray, son of Ḥāǰǰī Giray, in a diploma issued on 20 ḏẖī'l-ḥiǰǰa 872/ July 11, 1468.[4] These immunity charters state that the inhabitants of the town should be considered *tarḫans*. For the definition of what being a *tarḫan* meant, it is sufficient to refer here to J̌uvainī's most concise statement: "*Tarkhan* are those who are exempt from compulsory contributions and to whom the booty taken on every campaign is surrendered."[5] Besides being exempt from taxation, the diploma assured that the inhabitants of Qïrq-yer must not be vexed by state clerks and couriers. The same stereotype formulas occur in other immunity charters of the Golden Horde and its successor states.

This time I would like to present a third document concerning Qïrq-yer which, similarly to the above two, have been hitherto unpublished. This document which contains a contract, or more precisely an affidavit of Mängli Giray and the inhabitants of Qïrq-yer, is uniqely interesting in several respects. On the one hand, it offers valuable hints concerning the historical events of 1478/79 and it represents a hitherto unknown genre of documents, on the other. It is a contract, as was indicated above, but of a special sort.

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[3] The document which is preserved in Leningrad, is not published. For its description see M. A. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva Ulusa XIV–XVI vv*, Kazan' 1979, p. 32. Its Russian translation was published by V. D. Smirnov, *Tatarsko-chanskie jarlyki iz kollekcii Tavričeskoj Učenoj Archivnoj Kommissii: ITUAK* 54 (1918), pp. 8–9. Together with other documents I shall publish this diploma in my book treating the chancellery documents of the Golden Horde and its successor states.

[4] This document, similarly to the above one, has also not been published. For its Russian translation see Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11, for its description see Usmanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34.

[5] J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror by ʿAta-Malik Juvaini*, Manchester 1958, vol. I, pp. 37–38.

Contracts confirmed by oath are well-known in the Crimean Khanate, they were referred to by the Arabo-Persian term *šarṭnāmä*. A *šarṭnāmä* was a contract between two parties, in which each party promised to stick to certain conditions which were acknowledged as binding on both.

This primary meaning of contracts is expressed by the Arabic term *šarṭ*, the original meaning of which is "condition." The word *šarṭ* first appears in Turkic in the 11th century in the *Qutadġu Bilig*, in the above-mentioned original meaning,[6] and later, as a juridical term it came to mean "fulfilment of certain conditions by oath; oath." In the latter meaning it entered into Russian in the 15th century, and was used exclusively in connection with the Crimean Tatars. The first occurence of the word we find in March 1474, in a Russian translation of a draft of a Tatar diploma. Mängli Giräy ḫān declares that he swore an oath to the Russian Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič to live in peace with him in accordance with the conditions laid down in the diploma *(šert' esmi dal)*.[7] The Russian equivalent of the *šarṭnāmäs* was *šertnaja gramota*, and even a word *šertovat'* "to take oath to the Koran" was formed from the word *šert'*.[8] The act of swearing an oath was expressed by the phrase *ant šarṭ qïl-* or *šarṭ 'ahd qïl-*, in both cases another word was added to *šarṭ* to form a *hendiadyoin*, meaning simply "oath," *ant* being the Turkic and *'ahd* being the Arabic term for "oath."[9]

Crimean *šarṭnāmäs* have been known to historical scholarship in great numbers, beginning with the above-mentioned diploma of Mängli Giräy from 1474, both in the original, and in a contemporary Russian translation.[10] For more than two hundred years, until the

[6] QB, verse B36 and 5997 in R. R. Arat's edition; see also *DTS*, p. 520.

[7] G. F. Karpov, *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskoju ordami i Turciej*. I (1474–1505). S. Peterburg 1884, pp. 5, 6.

[8] For the Russian occurences of the word *šert'* and *šertnaja gramota* see G. E. Kočin, *Materialy dlja terminologičeskogo slovarja drevnej Rossii*, Moskva–Leningrad 1937, pp. 397, 76. For the word *šert'* in Russian see Vasmer, *REW* III, p. 393 and E. N. Šipova, *Slovar' tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke*, Alma-Ata 1976, pp. 418–419.

[9] E. g. in Muḥammäd Giräy's *šartnāmä* from 1520, we read: *bäng ant šarṭ qïldïq* "we swore an eternal oath" (V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo chanstva*, S. Peterburg 1864, p. 3). – In the document which is the subject of this paper we find in lines 8–9: *šarṭ 'ahdï qïlïp* "taking the oath."

[10] For these documents see Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *op. cit.*; Karpov. *op. cit.*; F. Laškov, *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij Krymskogo chanstva s Moskovskim gosudarstvom v XVI i XVII v. v.*, Simferopol' 1891.

end of the 17th century, these contracts were the regular form of diplomatic correspondence between Muscovy and the Crimean Khanate. On the condition that the Russians gave regular "presents," i.e. taxes, to the Crimean Tatars, the latter promised not to harass the Russian borderlands by their constant marauding campaigns. Though several of these documents have been preserved in Russian translation from the 15th century in the so-called *posol'skie knigi* "book of the envoys," the first original *šarṭnāmä* that has come down to us is dated 1520. This diploma was given by Muḥammäd Giräy ḫān to the Polish King Sigismund August, and the latter assured him by oath to live in peace and friendship.[11]

The document to be treated here differs from the above *šarṭnāmäs* in one essential respect. All contracts of the Crimean khans known up till now have been concluded with foreign sovereigns, primarily with the Russian ruler and the Polish King. The document treated below is a contract between Mängli Giräy ḫan and his own subjects, the inhabitants of the town of Qïrq-yer. Besides, it is the first *šarṭnāmä* at all preserved in the original language. The document is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy *(Rukopis'nyj otdel Leningradskogo otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija AN SSSR)*, under the signature T. 307.[12] It is small in size (20 ~ 20.5 × 32.5 cm) consisting of 23 lines. The first line is severely damaged, the 2nd and 4th lines are slightly damaged at the ends. The document is glued on another piece of paper, so no water mark can be detected. The text is written with black ink, the parts written with golden ink and the seals are missing. The text is written with the *nasḫ*-type of Arabic script, with carefully placed vocalic and other signs *(ḫaraka)*. The document in its present form is either a draft or a later copy. The lack of validating signs (seal and golden ink), its small size and the absence of traditional initial and closing formulas support the former possibility. I see no reason why it should be defined as a copy from the 17–18th centuries, as M. Usmanov

[11] Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–5.

[12] For a description of the document see Usmanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 71–72. In March 1980 I had the opportunity to study the document personally in Leningrad. Here I would like to express my gratitude to the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy for giving permission to publish this document, and personally my thanks go to M. P. Volkova and N. V. Eliseeva who were always ready to help me with my work in the Manuscript Department.

thinks.[13] After giving the transcription, translation and linguistic commentaries to the text, I shall try to elucidate a few further questions raised by this important document.

TEXT

1 *Ba'du'l-ḥamdi li-waliyyihi [. . . . .] lihi aǰma'īn [. . . . .] 'ahdi [. . . . .]*
2 *turur kim taḫrīr qïlïndï bu ma'nā üzärä kim iqrār qïldï Qïrq-yerning aḫī a[ġalarï]*
3 *Mävlänā 'Abdullāh ḫaṭīb, Ḥāǰǰï Ḫoǰa Maḥmūd, Ḥāǰǰï Mäḥmäd Qāsim, Ḥāǰǰï Aḥmäd Manṣūr,*
4 *Ḫoǰa Aḥmäd, Ḥāǰǰï Bahādūr, Ḥāǰǰï 'Ömär Muḥammäd, Pïr Ḥasan, Muṣṭafā Yaman [. . . . .]*
5 *Mūminäkä Tāǰiddïn, Ḥāǰǰï Süläymān, Muḥammäd Qāsim, Šäyḫ Muḥammäd bašlïġ müslimanlarï*
6 *taqï yahudīlärdän mu'allim Šolama, Baba Davān, iki Illiya paša Ḫulānī, Mōšī, Illiyās, Isḥāq,*
7 *Mōšī bey ata Ibrāhīm Babu yahudīläri, ermänidän Tātkä, Bubas, Barun Kirkor, Känčili*
8 *Märdān, Ulu-bey, Sarï-bey, Qutlu-bey, Lukān bašlïġ ermäniläri barčalarï birlä šarṭ*
9 *'ahdï qïlïp ayturmän: bu aytïlġan Qïrq-yerning müslimanlarï, yahudīläri,*
10 *ermäniläri bašlïġ barča elgä "bi'llāhi'ṭ-ṭālibi'l-ġālibi'l-mudriki'l-muhliki'*
11 *l-ḥattā'llaḏī lā yamūtu abadan" barčalarïnga ziyān saġïn-maġaymän. Mallarïna bašlarïna*
12 *ziyān saġïnmaġaymän taqï amanlïqda kirip šähär ḫalqïna ziyān zaḫmät qïlmaġaymän.*
13 *Šu ǰäzīrä ankāḫ sizlär taqï özgägä baqmaġaysïz, bu aytïlġan*
14 *šarṭlardïn ḫatā qïlur bolsam tängri ḫaqqï üčün, yüz ming yigirmi tört ming*

[13] Usmanov, *op. cit.*, p. 71 and p. 69, fig. IV/2. Usmanov thinks that the vocalization of some words *(Mäḥmäd, ermänidän, ermäniläri, müslimanlarï, ḫürmäti-čün)* is typical of 17–18th-century Ottoman orthography. First, these are not typical Ottoman features, secondly an increasing Ottoman influence in the language of the Crimean documents can be pointed out from the second half ot the 15th century onward, so an Ottoman name like *Mäḥmäd* is quite natural in a 15th century Crimean text.

15 *artuq äksük änbiyā vä rusullar ḥaqqï hürmäti-čün buzmaǧaymän, vä ägär buzar*
16 *ǰaqlï bolsam tängridän päyǧambärlärdän, yüz dört kitābdan, ʿalā'l-ḥuṣūṣi*
17 *Qurʿāndan bïzār bolǧaymän. Taqï baʿdu nakāḥ-ï šarʿï birlä alǧan ḥalālïm mändin üč ṭalāq*
18 *ḥaram bolǧay. Basa sizlär taqï mändin özgägä Ḥāǰǰï Giräy oǧlï tep yāḫūd*
19 *Säyyid Aḥmäd oǧlï tep qalʿägä kirgizmägäylär tep iqrār qïldïm.*
20 *Bizlär taqï aytïlǧan šarṭï vä ʿahdïnï buzar bolsaq täŋri ḥaqqï üčün, yüz ming yigirmi dört ming*
21 *artuq äksük änbiyā vä rasūllar ḥaqqï vä ḥürmäti-čün buzmaǧaymän, vä ägär buzar ǰaqlï bolsaq*
22 *täŋridän päyǧambärlärdän, yüz dört kitābdan, ʿalā'l-ḥuṣūṣi Qurʾāndan bïzār bolǧaymän. Nakāḥ šarʿï birlä alǧan ḥalällarïmïz*
23 *bizlä⟨r⟩dän üč ṭalāq ḥaram bolǧay, iqrār qïlduq. Tārïḫ säkiz yüz säksän üč, sänä 883.*

TRANSLATION

(1–2) After praising the saint [. . . . . .] everybody [. . . . . .] oath [. . . . . .] that it was written down in the sense as it was confessed by the guildsmen of Qïrq-yer (3–5) Mävlänä ʿAbdullāh ḫaṭïb, Ḥāǰǰï Ḫoǰa Maḥmūd, Ḥāǰǰï Mäḥmäd Qāsim, Ḥāǰǰï Aḥmäd Manṣūr, Ḫoǰa Aḥmäd, Ḥāǰǰï Bahādūr, Ḥāǰǰï ʿÖmär Muḥammäd, Pïr Ḥasan, Muṣṭafā Yaman [. . . . . .], Müminäkä Tāǰiddïn, Ḥāǰǰï Sülāymān, Muḥammäd Qāsim, Šāyḫ Muḥammäd who represent the Muslims; (6–7) from among the Jews by Master Šolama, Baba Davān, the two Illiya pašas from Ḫulān, Mōšï, Illiyās, Isḥāq, Mōšï bey whose father is Ibrāhïm Babu; from among the Armenians by Tātkä, Bubas, Barun Kirkor, Märdän of Gandzak, (8–11) Ulubey, Sarï-bey, Qutlu-bey, Lukān who represent the Armenians. All these took the oath and I [Mängli Giräy] say: "By Allah, the victorious and desirous, who reaches and destroys [everything], who never dies" I will not contemplate any harm to the inhabitants of Qïrq-yer who are under the leadership of the [above-]mentioned Muslims, Jews and Armenians. (12) I will not cause any harm to their property and their person, and entering in peace I will not do any harm or trouble to the townsfolk. (13–16) You must not obey others.

If I should deviate from the [above-]mentioned conditions, let me not break [the contract] for the sake of God's justice and for the sake of approximately one-hundred-and-twenty-four thousand prophets' and envoys' justice and respect. And if I am the violating party, let me be separated from God and the prophets, and from the one-hundred-and-four books, especially (17–18) the Koran. And let my wife, taken in a legal marriage-process, be discharged from me with the threefold *ṭalāq* [-formula]. And you, saying to others "[this is] Ḥāǰǰī Giräy's son" or "[this is] (19) Säyyid Aḥmād's son," do not let them into the fortress. [This way] I made my oral declaration. (20–21) And if we break the [above-]mentioned conditions and oath, I will not break [the contract] for the sake of approximately one-hundred-and-twenty-four thousand prophets' and envoys' justice and respect. And [yet] if we are the violating party, (22–23) I will be separated from God and the prophets, and from the one-hundred-and-four books, especially the Koran. Let our wives, taken in a legal marriage-process, be discharged from us with the threefold *ṭalāq* [-formula]. [This way] we made our oral declarations. Date: eight hundred eighty-three, the year 883.

COMMENTARY

5 The word *bašlïġ* (also in lines 8, 10) often occurs after a personal name or names in the documents of the Golden Horde and its successor states, its meaning is "at the head of sg; under the leadership of X." E.g., in Toḫtamïš' immunity charter from 1381, line 3: *Qïrïm tümäninïng Qutlu-Buġa bašlïġ daruġa begläringä* "To the lord governors of the *Qïrïm* province, with Qutlu-Buġa at their head."[14]

6–7 This is the first document where Qïrq-yer Jews (here evidently Karaites) are mentioned. Most of the names are well-known Jewish names, some of them are in their Arabicized forms (*Ilyās* by side of the Hebrew form *Illiyā*; *Isḥāq* for Hebrew *Yiṣḥāq*; *Ibrāhïm* for *Abrāhām*). *Šolama* and *Mōšï* represent the Hebrew *Šᵉlōmōh* and *Mōšeh*. *Baba* is a less well known Jewish name,[15] as for *Davān* I

[14] I. Berezin, *Tarchannye jarlyki Tochtamyša, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireja*, Kazan' 1851, p. 13.

[15] For a *Baba ben Buta* see *Encyclopedia Judaica* III, Berlin 1929, cols. 842–843. But it is not excluded that *Baba* in this name is identical with Turkic *Baba* often occuring in Turkic names.

cannot find an explanation. *Ḫulānī* is evidently formed from a place-name. The only place I could find is *Ḫulwan* in Babylonia where a Jewish settlement can be pointed out.[16] *Paša* and *bey* are Tatar–Turkish names of rank, which, in our case are worn by Crimean Karaims.

7–8 *Kirkor*, *Märdān* and *Lukān* are well-known Armenian names, the former two being of Persian origin. The word *barun* is a French borrowing in the Cilician Middle-Armenian, in addition to other French words which had found their way into Armenian, similarly in the 12–14th centuries.[17] Later the word often occurs as a proper name in Armenian colophons of the 15th century.[18]

Ulu-bey, *Sarï-bey*, *Qutlu-bey* are Turkish names used by Armenians.

13 *Šu ǰäzīrä inkāh*. This part is difficult to understand, obviously the text is corrupt. The Arabic word *ǰazīra* meaning "island; Mesopotamia" is out of place here, although in Ottoman it may stand for the Arabic word *zaǰr*, meaning "oppression, tyranny, cruelty."[19] The Arabic word *inkāh* "a making or letting a woman marry" is again out of place here. I thought it appropriate not to give any, even a tentative, translation of this passage.

15 *buz-* is the verb used to express "to break/violate a contract" (also in lines 20, 21). It occurs both with *šarṭ* and *ʿahd*. In Quṭb's *Ḫusräw u Šīrīn*: *bozulmasun bu šarṭïm* "let not this condition of mine be violated,"[20] or in Sayf-i Sarāyī: *ḫatā sözni ešitip dušmanïngdan keräkli dūst ʿahdïnï buzupsän* "Having given an ear to the bad words of your enemy you break the necessary contract with your friend."[21]

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[16] For *Ḫulwan* see J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien*, Frankfurt am Main 1929, pp. 10, 93, 107, 110, 147; J. Mann, *Studies* II, p. 16, n. 29. My thanks go to Professor A. Schreiber for helping me identify the Jewish names of the document.

[17] J. Karst, *Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-armenischen*, Strassburg 1901, pp. 30–31.

[18] *XV dari hayeren dzeŕagreri hišatakaranner*, edited by L. S. Xač'ikian, Jerevan, vol. I: 1955, pp. 370, 427, 484, 518, 524; vol. II: 1958, pp. 379, 407; vol. III: 1967, pp. 437, 179, 242. For these data I am grateful to Dr. E. Schütz.

[19] J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople 1890, pp. 660, 1005.

[20] A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka* Ḫusräv u Šīrīn *Qutba* III, Warszawa 1961, p. 36.

[21] A. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Saʿdī's Gulistān*, Budapest 1969, p. 236. Here Turkic *buz-* is the rendering of Persian

15–16 *buzar ǰaqlï* (also in line 21), meaning "the violating party, the party that violates the contract." The word *yaq* is typical of Kipchak tongues, it can be attested in Nog., Kum., Karaim, Kaz. Tat., the form *ǰaq* occurs in Karakalpak, Kirgiz and Kazak. For *yaqlï* see Kumyk *yaqlï* "-storónnij, iméjuščij . . . storón, napravlénij," Kaz. Tat. *yaqlï* "storónnik, zaščitnik," Nogay *män durïslïq yaqlï* "ja storónnik právdy."[22]

On the whole the language of the document presents no particular difficulties, it is written in the literary language of the 14–15th centuries, the so-called Khwarezmian Turkic. No traces of strong Ottoman influence can be detected.

In the following, I shall dwell on three questions concerning the document: 1. The historical background of the text (issuer and date), 2. Guildsmen in the Crimea, and 3. Formulas of oath and curse.

1. There is no direct indication in the text as to the issuer of the document. But there are two hints that may be of help to us. First, the date is 883 A. H., i.e. April 1487 – March 1479 A. D. Secondly, in lines 18–19 two persons are mentioned as opponents of the issuer of the document, and the inhabitants of Qïrq-yer are prohibited from paying homage to these persons who, unfortunately, are not called directly by their name, but are referred to as Ḥāǰǰī Giräy's son and Säyyid Aḥmäd's son. These are the bare facts we must confront with the historical events of 1478–1479 in the Crimea in order to precisely define the person of the khan who made a contract with the town of Qïrq-yer. After the capture of Kaffa in 1475, the Ottomans placed Mängli Giräy on the Crimean throne, but he could not enjoy his rule for long, because in 1476 the khan of the Great Horde, Aḥmäd, and his son, attacked the Crimea. Mängli Giräy was ousted from the throne, fled to Turkey and Aḥmäd's son became the new khan.[23] As in the Russian "posol'skie knigi" the Crimean khan's name in 1477 was J̌änibek (Russian *Zenebek*), he must have been the son of Aḥmäd.[24] J̌änibek seems to have been an old rival of Mängli

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šikastan "to break." See also Ė. Fazylov, *Starouzbekskij jazyk* I, Taškent 1966, p. 271.

[22] *Kumyksko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1969, p. 389; *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1966, p. 703; *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1963, p. 458.

[23] In the Russian chronicles: *PSRL* VIII, p. 183; XII, p. 168; XXIV, p. 195. See also B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943, p. 1979; B. D. Grekov–A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie*, Moskva-Leningrad 1950, pp. 423–424.

[24] Karpov, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Giray's as the latter had asked the Russian Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič as early as 1475 to take J̌ānibek to him for service.[25] Mängli Giray obviously wanted to have his rival far away, because he was a constant danger to his rule. In these troublesome years of 1476–1478, with J̌ānibek on the throne and Mängli Giray in exile, a third pretender also appeared and he was seemingly successful in seizing power in the Crimea. According to the Polish historian, Długosz, in 1478 there was a Tatar envoy to King Kazimierz from the Crimean Khan Nūr-Dävlät *(Nurdulab)*.[26] One cannot be sure whether Nūr-Dävlät and J̌ānibek were simultaneously at rule, their spheres of power being divided, or, Nūr-Dävlät became the only lord in the Crimea. This Nūr-Dävlät was Ḥāǰǰī Giray's son, i.e. the blood brother of Mängli Giray.[27] Historical sources keep silent as to how Mängli Giray regained the Crimean throne for the second time. At any rate, in April 30, 1479 we see him again as sovereign as he accepts an envoy coming from the Russian Grand Prince. From the instructions given to the Russian envoy we learn that formerly Mängli Giray had sent two envoys to the Grand Prince whose task was to announce that Mängli Giray had occupied again his father's throne.[28] The time of this event can only be suspected, but it could not be later than January 1479, since a minimum of three months were needed for two embassies (Crimea-Moscow and return). Again from this report we learn that the Russian Grand Prince, agreeing to Mängli Giray's repeated request, took the banished J̌ānibek to him for service.[29] In autumn 1479, the other expelled khan, Nūr-Dävlät, also appeared at the Muscovite court, and together with his younger brother, Aydar, they were accepted for service by the Grand Prince.[30] The simultaneous appearance in 1479 of the two Crimean ex-khans at the Muscovite court makes probable the supposition that their power in the Crimea must have been divided, and that Mängli Giray expelled both of them. This idea gains new evidence by the

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[25] Karpov, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[26] *Dlugossii Historia Polonica*, vol. V, in: *Opera omnia* XIV, p. 670.

[27] Concerning Nūr-Dävlät who was the Crimean Khan from 1466–1469, and later the Khan of Kasimov, see V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskich carjach i carevičach* I, S. Peterburg 1863, pp. 91–148. In this rich collection of sources detailed information can be found on the 1470s, especially p. 97 sqq.

[28] Karpov, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[29] Karpov, *ibid.*

[30] *PSRL* III, p. 243; IV, pp. 133, 152; VI, pp. 34 109, 223; VIII, p. 205. See also Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie* I, pp, 91–93.

above document. The two persons mentioned in the diploma as Ḥāǰǰī Giräy's son and Sāyyid Aḥmād's son must have been Nūr-Dävlät and J̌ānibek. The document was written at the historical moment when Mängli Giräy regained power, between April 1478 and January 1479. His renascent power presumably badly needed the support of the important town of Qïrq-yer, and he promised to secure the immunity of the town in return for the fidelity of the townsfolk. The eminent danger of the return of the recently banished pretenders is clearly shown by the fact that the inhabitants of the town are emphatically prohibited from letting them into the fortress, i.e., to acknowledge and obey them as rulers.

2. The persons who represent the different communities of the town are called *aḫī a[ǧalarï]*, i.e. guildsmen or guildsmasters. A representative of the Karaim community (line 6) is called *mu'allim Šolama* "master Šolama" which again points in the direction of guilds. The origin of the term *aḫī* is disputed, either it goes back to the Arabic *aḫī* "my brother," or to the Turkic *aqï*, *aḫï* "noble, knightly," or the two terms inextricably coalesced.[31] In any case, from the 11th century onward it designated members of brotherhoods which were organized according to the principle of *futuwwa*. *Futuwwa* became the organizing principle of dervish orders and town guilds as well. In the 13–14th centuries in Anatolia the institution of *aḫī*s, the *aḫïlïq* became connected primarily with the trade guilds. We have a precious account of the trade guilds in Anatolia by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled through this land in the 1300s. From Sinop, he took a voyage to the Crimea, and in Azaq he met an *aḫï*.[32] We do not know whether this *aḫī* was a native Crimean or an Anatolian Turk, but it is sufficient to say that in the 1300s the institution of *aḫī*s, probably imported from Anatolia, existed already in the Crimea.[33] Our document is further evidence that organizations of *aḫï*s, the trade guilds, were active later on as well; moreover,

[31] See recently F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, Zürich und München 1979, p. 232. For any further information concerning *aḫī*s cf. this book.

[32] Ibn Baṭūṭa, ed. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, vol. II, p. 368.

[33] For the further development of guilds at the Crimean Tatars see V. Gordlevskij, *Organizacija cechov u krymskich tatar: Trudy Ėtnografo-archeologičeskogo Muzeja* IV (1928), pp. 56–65. For the term *aḫī* in Central Asia see A. K. Borovkov, *K istorii bratstva "achi" V Srednej Azii: Sbornik v čest' Gordlevskogo*, Moskva 1953, pp. 87–89; idem, *Upominanie "achi" u Ališera Navoi: Kratkie soobščenija Int-a narodov Azii (Sbornik Bertel'sa)* 1964, pp. 32–39.

the *aḫīs* of Qïrq-yer were evidently the leading social layer of the town who represented the whole population of the town before the khan. In the *aḫīs* of Qïrq-yer we may see the Islamic equivalent of mediaeval burghers in Europe.

3. The contract in question is a legal document, and the promises are corroborated by oath and curse on both sides. This type of text is unknown in Turkic and I could not find any equivalents in Arabic or Persian either. The text of the oath and curse gives an interesting insight into mediaeval Islamic oath formulas.

The khan takes his oath by God citing an Arabic passage (lines 10–11). Then, in both texts of the oath (lines 14–15, 20–21), God and the one-hundred-and-twenty-four thousand prophets are mentioned. The same persons are referred to in a *šarṭnāmä* of Muḥammād Girāy from 1520.[34] The 124,000 prophets occur in the oath-formulas of Ottoman documents as well.[35] The forms of curse are something like the formulas of the *poena* in the text of diplomas. In the case of breaking the contract, the parties accept the punishment of being separated from the 104 books, especially the Koran, and from their wives. These formulas are totally unknown to me. It is to be hoped that experts on Islamic law will find a clue to these obscure passages.

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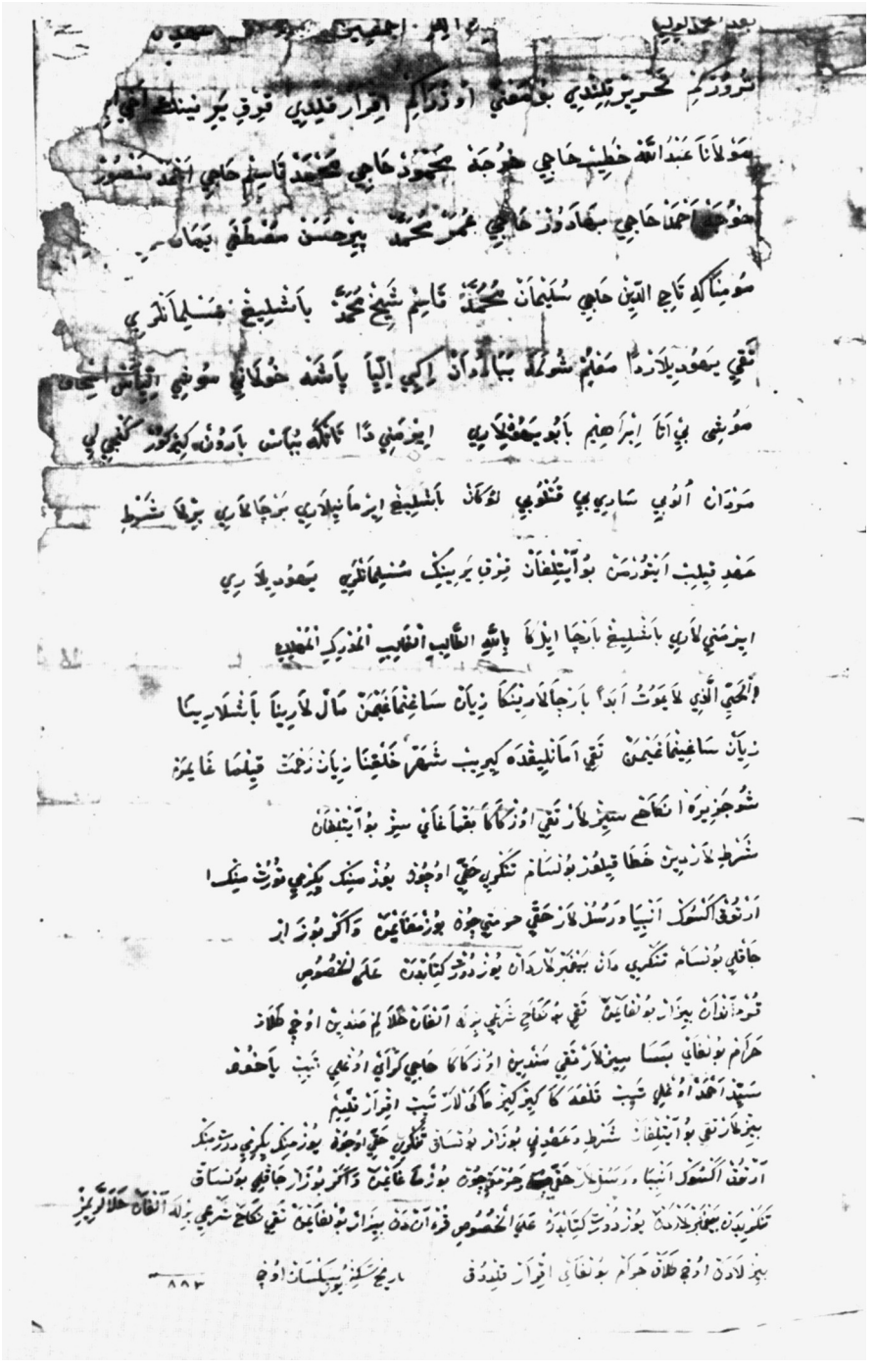
[34] *sizgä bäng ant šarṭ etärmüz Tängrining adï üstünä taqï yüz ming yigirmi tört ming päyġambärlärdän* . . . (Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Materialy*, p. 4).

[35] See L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, Budapest 1977, p. 36. I could not find such an Ottoman document.



Mängli Giräy's Contract from 1478/79: Leningrad, LO IV AN, T. 307

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XV

TWO KAZAN TATAR EDICTS
(Ibrahim's and Sahib Girey's Yarliks)

by

SHAMIL MUHAMEDYAROV and ISTVÁN VÁSÁRY
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The number of charters issued by the khans of the Golden Horde and its successor States (Crimean and Kazan Khanates) is extremely small. This scarcity is primarily due to losses in the Tatar archives, but evidently even the original number of charters must have been smaller than e.g. in the Ottoman chanceries. In addition, the territorial distribution of the documents is uneven in that the majority of charters comes from the Crimea. As to the content of these documents, they can be divided into two major groups: those pertaining to diplomatic correspondence and those pertraining to domestic affairs.[1] If we take a closer look at the Kazan Khanate, the excessive paucity of the documents is striking. Disregarding the diplomatic letters which had been edited and scrutinized by Halasi Kun,[2] there are only two documents dealing with domestic affairs: the edicts of Ibrāhīm ḫān and Ṣāḥib Giräy ḫān. Both of them are of the same type, namely *tarḫanlïġ yarlïġs* in which exemption from taxes are granted to certain persons. Both of them have been edited, although the former only in a very cursory way and in a Kazan Tatar journal difficult to get hold of. These circumstances and the significance of these documents may justify their re-edition with commentaries and photos. All the more so because in both cases interesting Russian additional material will be given, which clearly demonstrates how these Tatar edicts continued functioning as legal sources even after the conquest of Kazan in the Russian Empire.

[1] In the former years a couple of articles and books have appeared concerning the documents pertaining to domestic affairs, so e.g. A. P. Grigor'ev, *Mongol'skaja diplomatika XIII–XV vv. (čingizidskie žalovannye gramoty)*, Leningrad 1978; M. A. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva Ulusa XIV–XVI vv*, Kazan' 1979; I. Vásáry, *Chancellery of the Golden Horde*. Budapest (in print). For further bibliographies see there.

[2] T. Halasi Kun, *Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan: Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata* (*BOH* V), Budapestini MCMXLII, pp. 138–155; idem, *Philologica III. Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yâdigârları: AÜDTCFD* 7 (1949), pp. 603–644.

I. Ibrāhīm ḫān's Edict of 1467–79

This document was discovered by R. Stepanov in 1963 and is preserved in the Central State Archives of Old Documents (CGADA, fond 1173, opis' 1, ed. chr. 196, f. 1) in Moscow. The document is not original, it is a 17th-century copy, moreover, a copy of the so-called "Nachzeichnung"-type. In this "re-drawing"-type of copies even the minor formal characteristics of the original document are adhered to, e. g. the original form and inscriptions of the seals are also presented.[3] This copy of an original Tatar document can be found in a Russian file of documents which contains the application of a Tatar called Kutlumbet'ko Kutlugušev from 1685. The applicant wants to be registered as tarḫan in the list of the service Tatars *(služilye tatary)* from Ufa. He refers to his ancestors who had been *tarḫans*, i.e. privileged persons exempt from taxes, and to prove this he attaches the copy of the immunity charter in his possession *(podal z gramoty busurmanskogo carja spisok)*, which had been translated into Russian by *abyz Artyk Imanaev* (i.e. Artïq Imanay ḥāfiẓ). The applicant's statement was corroborated by a certain *Asan Kulunčakov*'s (i.e. Ḥasan Qulunčaq) oath *(služiloj myrza Asan Kulunčakov po svoej vere po šerti skazal te ž reči)*. Subsequently, the applicant was registered as *tarḫan*. Artyk Imanaev's Russian translation displays only an approximate understanding of the original text; it is a paraphrase rather than word to word translation. As the copy of the original document contains several errors, the possibility cannot be excluded that we have to do with a contemporary falsification of the Tatar applicant. Even if this possibility turned to be true (although it cannot be proved with any certainty), the copy (or "copy"?) would present historical value, as it could be perpetrated only with a good knowledge of original Tatar documents, and the erroneous parts can easily be corrected when compared with the parallel parts of other immunity charters of the Golden Horde and the Crimea. On the other hand we think that the possibility of a falsification is less probable, because there is little trace of the contemporary 17th-century Tatar idiom in the text, and the errors can rather be characterized as scribal errors than conscious distortions. At any rate, it is quite natural that a 200 years old text could not be understood in all its minor details.

The size of the document, which has no relevance as to the size of the original, is 17 × 27,3 cm. Its state of preservation is good, it consists of 12 lines. Written in black ink, with Arabic script, *nasta'liq*-type. There is the drawing of one quadratic seal at the end of the document (size: 4,8 × 5 cm).[4] The colour of the seal is light green which is quite unusual. There can be two explanations to this: 1. the original colour was blue or yellow, and it has changed by time, 2. the document is a falsification — according to the possibility mentioned above — and the falsificator did not know the right use of colours in sealing. The legenda of the seal, written in the *Kūfī* script, runs as follows: the *tašahhud* (2 times), then come the ruler's name and titles: *Al-sulṭān al-ʿaẓīm ʿizz al-*

[3] H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* I, Leipzig 1899, p. 80.

[4] For a description of the edict see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty*, pp. 34–35.

dīn Ibrāhīm ḫān, and finally a blessing formula: *ḫallada'llāhu mulkahu wa ayyada salṭanatahu.*

The document was issued by Ibrāhīm ḫān who ruled on the Kazan throne from 1467–1479. However, there is something wrong with the date in the document. It is dated A.H. 800, beginning of the *ramaḍān*-month *(tārīḫ säkiz yüzdä, ramaḍān ayïnïng ävvälindä)*, which would correspond to A.D. 1398, May 18–28. Most probably the numbers after "eight hundred" *(säkiz yüz)* have been omitted when copying the text of the document. Consequently the exact date of the issue of the edict cannot be determined, but it must have been issued during the reign of Ibrāhīm ḫān, between 1467 and 1479.

The text of Ibrāhīm ḫān's edict with a modern Kazan Tatar translation and short commentaries was first edited by Muhamed'jarov, Stepanov and Usmanov.[5] Actually it was only a short preliminary report, the transcription of the text was full of arbitrary modernizations (e.g. *almasïnlar* instead of *almasunlar, ilče* instead of *elči*, etc.). Later, in 1972 A. N. Kurat edited the text in a similarly inconsequent transcription accompanied by a modern Turkish translation.[6] The edict remained practically unknown in scholarly literature, to our knowledge it was only J. Pelenski who referred to it in his valuable monograph, justly adding that it has been awaiting its good Turcological analysis.[7]

Text

1 *Ibrāhīm ḫān{ïmïz}.*[a]
2 *Soyurġal sözüm. Ḫuday riḍāsï üčün, Muḥammäd räsūlullāh šäfāʿatï üčün, bu öksüz oġlul*[b]
3 *tul ḫatun{nï}āzāt*[c] *tarḫan bolsun, tedük. Bu āzād tarḫan yebärgän kim ersälärning atï bašlïġ*
4 *Kül-bustān ḫatun oġlï Muḥammädʿazīz ḫān, näsīb-ï*[d] *Šāh, näsäb-i J̌ānäkä sulṭān. Bu atlï kim ersälär{ni} āzād*
5 *yebärildi. Taqï Ḫoš-keldi atïlïġ*[e] *čorasïn birgä bolsun, tedük. Vä taqï Muḥammäd ʿAlī, Muḥammäd ʿAzīzning*
6 *ayasï*[f] *soyurġap bergän bu iki tamġa ormanïn soyurġap el aġalarï birlä irektä soyurġaduq.*

[a]This form is quite unexpected here, most probably it came about under the influence of the *sözümüz*-formula. [b]Recte: *oġul.* [c]Sic! [d]Recte: *näsäb-i.* [e]Recte: *atlïġ.* [f]Recte: *atasï.* [g]Recte: *anbar.* [h]Recte: *ilmäk.* [i]Recte: *nišānlïġ.*

[5] M. Gosmanov–S. Möchämmäd'jarov–R. Stepanov, *Jaŋa jarlyk*: Kazan utlary 1965/8, pp. 146–150.

[6] A. N. Kurat, *IV–XVIII. yüzyıllarda Karadeniz kuzeyindeki Türk kavimleri ve devletleri.* Ankara 1972, pp. 354–356.

[7] J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s).* The Hague–Paris 1974, p. 14, n. 8.

7 *Bulardïn bilgüsiz kim kim ersä ormanlarïna yürümäsünlär, ekin saba⟨n⟩ sürsä ḫazir aynar*[g]

8 *almasunlar. Bularġa küč birlä qonaq qondurmasunlar, tarḫan elči, ulaġ almaq*[h] *tutmasunlar.*

9 *Qayuma yandïn küč tegürmäsünlär tep bu Ḥaydar ʿAlī sulṭānnïng āzād yebärgän Kül-bustān*

10 *ḫatun oġlï Muḥammäd ʿAlī ʿAzīz ḫān, näsäb-i Šāh, näsäb-i J̌ānäkä sulṭān taqï Ḫoš-keldi atlï čorasï,*

11 *bu kim ersälä⟨rgä⟩ tuta turġan sanïlïġ*[i] *yarlïġ berildi. Tārīḫ säkiz yüzdä, ramaḍān ayïnïng ävvälindä bitildi.*

12 *Ḥāǰǰī Qurban ḫāfiẓ biti{l}di.*

Translation

(1) Ibrahim khan, (2–3) my order of grant. By the grace of God and by the intercession of Muḥammäd, prophet of God, let this orphan boy and widow woman be free *tarḫan*s, we said. The names of these persons who have been made free *tarḫan*s begin with (that of) (4–5) Kül-bustān ḫatun, (then) her son Muḥammäd ʿAzīz ḫān, descendants of Šah, descendant of J̌anäkä sulṭān. The persons having these names were made free. And let their servant named Ḫoš-keldi be (free) together with them, we said. (6–7) And in the fortress, we granted (them) this forest of two *tamġa*s that had been given (formerly) to Muḥammäd ʿAlī's and Muḥammäd ʿAzīz's father as a grant, together with (its) chiefs (in charge of it). Without their knowledge no one should enter their forest, (and) when they till (their) land, (taxes like) *ḫazir* and granary (8–9) should not be taken (from them). Guests should not be accommodated at them with force; *tarḫan*s and envoys should not take relay horses and mounts (from them). Violence should not be done (to them) by any means. Having said so, to Ḥaydar ʿAlī sultān's (widow), the freed Kül-bustān (10–11) ḫatun, to her sons Muḥammäd ʿAlī (and Muḥammäd) ʿAzīz ḫān, descendants of Šah, descendant of J̌ānäkä sulṭān and to (their) servant named Ḫoš-keldi, to all these persons the sealed edict which they hold (now) had been given. Date: it was written in eight hundred, in the first (part) of the month of *ramaḍān*. (12) Ḥāǰǰī Qurban ḫāfiẓ wrote (the document).

Commentary

1–2 The whole initial formula is strange. In all documents of the Golden Horde and the early Crimean Khanate the name of the issuer and the *sözüm(üz)*-formula are present, e.g. *Toḫtamïš sözüm, Mängli Giräy sözüm*, etc.[8] As the initial part of the Ṣāḥib

[8] See Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty*, pp. 184—205.

Giräy edict (1524) is fragmentary, our text stands by itself among the immunity charters. Therefore it is either a Kazan Tatar variant of the generally known initial formula, or — what seems to us more reasonable — a late 17th-century distortion or simply alteration of the original formula which could run merely as *Ibrāhīm sözüm.*

The blessing formula *ḫuday . . . üčün* occurs in the Ṣāḥib Giräy edict (line 9) in practically the same form. As this formula occurs in an act of grant only in these two Kazan Tatar edicts, its use may be regarded as typical of Kazan Tatar documents.

3 For *tarḫan,* privileged person exempt from taxation in the Mongol period, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* II, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 460–474.

The word *bašlïġ* often occurs after a personal name or names in the documents of the Golden Horde and its successor states, its meaning is "at the head of sg; under the leadership of X." E.g. in Toḫtamïš' immunity charter from 1381, line 3: *Qïrïm tümänining Qutlu-Buġa bašlïġ daruġa begläringä* "To the lord governors of the *Qïrïm* province, with Qutlu-Buġa at their head."[9] Or, in a Crimean contract from 1478/79 (line 5): *Šäyḫ Muḥammäd bašlïġ müslimanlarï* "the Muslims, with Š. M. at their head".[10] In our document the word *bašlïġ* is evidently misplaced, its proper place would be after *Kül-bustān hatun* (line 4).

4 The word *Šah* is either a personal name, as we have thought, or simply the well-known common noun. In the latter case it would mean that Kül-bustān ḫatun and her sons were of royal descent.

The form *atlï* (as in line 10 too) reflects a spoken dialectal form as opposed to *atlïġ* which also occurs in line 5. The same forms without *-ġ, -g* often occur in Toḫtamïš' letter to Yaġayla (Jagiełło).[11]

5 The word *čora* (in line 10 too) is indeed a rare one. First it occurs in the Chagatay–Persian dictionary Sanglaḫ as *čora* (or *čura*) "a beardless young servant".[12] Clauson considers it with right a Persian borrowing, and I see no reason why Doerfer thinks that the Persian word is of Turkic origin.[13] The Persian word is *čuhra* "a youth, strippling, page; a beardless boy", it occurs in the form *čura* "a beardless youth" as well.[14] The original Persian form *čuhra* is used e.g. in the Bāburnāmä: *Čuhra qalïn saḫlar edi. Ḫukm rūyidä čïraylïq amrad oġlan bolsa, här näv' bilä, keltürüp čuhra qïlur*

[9] I. Berezin, *Tarchannye jarlyki Tochtamyša, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireja,* Kazan' 1851, p. 13.

[10] I. Vásáry, *A Contract of the Crimean Khan Mängli Giräy and the Inhabitants of Qïrq-yer from 1478/79: CAJ* 26 (1982), p. 293.

[11] I. Berezin, *Jarlyk Tochtamyš chana k Jagajlu.* Kazan' 1850.

[12] G. Clauson, *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language by Muhammad Mahdī Xān.* London 1960, 212v 25: *hidmatkār-i amrad.* For the data of other Chagatay dictionaries (Pavet de Courteille, Zenker, Kúnos, Radloff) which all go back to the word of the Sanglaḫ, see Doerfer, *TMEN* III, p. 117.

[13] Clauson, *Sanglax,* pp. 56, 102; Doerfer, *TMEN* III, pp. 117—118.

[14] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary,* pp. 405, 392. Doerfer, *loc. cit.* disregarded the evidence of the Persian form *čuhra,* which is the original form as opposed to *čura, čora.* Whether this Persian *čuhra* has anything to do with Sanskrit *çūra,* as Ramstedt thought in connection with the Turkic data (G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch,* Helsinki 1935, p. 430), I cannot decide.

edi. "he kept many pages. Bringing all sorts of handsome and beardless boys from his realm, he made them pages."[15] This word survives in the Karaim (T, K) as *čora* "batrak, rabotnik; konjuch", (L) *cora* "batrak, cholop",[16] and in Kazak in the name of the epic hero *Šora batïr*.[17] In Kalmuk the word *tsor°* "Held, Krieger" is evidently a borrowing from the Kazak.[18] No other modern data are at our disposal; but there is a word similar in form and meaning to *čuhra, čura, čora,* and this word caused a lot of confusions in the dictionaries. Its first occurrence is likewise in the Sanglaḫ: *čorï* (or *čurï*) "maid-servant".[19] Clauson thinks that this word is perhaps of Persian origin, probably the misreading of Arabic *ḥūrī* "nymph of Paradise", or alternatively a corruption of Arabic *ǰarīya* "female slave".[20] Both hypotheses must be rejected, because the Chagatay *čorï/čurï* is not a book-form that owes its existence to a misreading or corruption, but a really existing word. Several modern Turkic data which must have remained unknown to Sir Gerard, point to this direction: Turkmen *čörï* "služánka, prislúga",[21] Kazak *čorï* "nevol'nica (poka ona ešče devuška, v protivnom slučae قيرناق)",[22] Kirg. *čoru, čor* "rabynja, nevol'nica",[23] Uzbek *čŭri* 1. "nevól'nica, rabynja", 2. "služánka, prislúga",[24] Modern Uyghur *čöri* "plénnica, nevól'nica; rabýnja".[25] The Chagatay and modern Turkic words may go back to a Persian *čūrī,* but the equivalence is not clear semantically.[26] I think it is more probable that a contamination took place, fusing the words *čura* or *čora* "page, servant" and *ḥūrī* "nymph, beautiful young woman", both in formal and semantic aspects. The contamination could equally well have occurred on the Persian or Turkic soil. At any rate the meaning "distaff" given by Steingass to the Persian word *čora* clearly shows that a real confusion has come about in Persian lexicology.[27]

The widow Kül-bustān ḫatun had evidently two sons, namely Muḥammäd ʿAlī and Muḥammäd ʿAzīz. In line 4 only Muḥammäd ʿAzīz was mentioned, while in line 10 they are referred to as Muḥammäd ʿAlī ʿAzīz. In the 17th-century Russian translation two persons are given: *Machammet' Alij da Machammet' Azij.*

[15] A. S. Beveridge, The *Bábar-náma,* London 1905, p. 25b, line 12.

[16] *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'.* Moskva 1974, pp. 631, 614.

[17] Radloff, *Wörterbuch* IV, p. 1028.

[18] Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.,* p. 430.

[19] 212v 26: *bar vazn-i ḥūrī kanīz-rā ḥvānand* (Clauson, *Sanglax*).

[20] Clauson, *Sanglax,* p. 102.

[21] *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'.* Moskva 1968, p. 736.

[22] Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar'* I, p. 444.

[23] Judachin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'.* Moskva 1965, p. 868.

[24] *Uzbeksko-russkij slovar'.* Moskva 1959, p. 531.

[25] *Ujgursko-russkij slovar'.* Moskva 1968, p. 393.

[26] Steingass (*Dictionary,* p. 402) gives a word *čūrī* "son and daughter", but he regards this meaning doubtful. The word was taken from Vullers (*Lexicon Persico-Latinum* I, p. 600) where it is designated as a Turkic word meaning "filia et filius". Vullers compares this word with Hindi *čukrī, čuhūkrī* "filia" (p. 584). This etymology is uncertain.

[27] Steingass, *Dictionary,* p. 402.

6 Instead of *ayasï* the good reading is *atasï* or *anasï*. In the context the former reading is more plausible.

El aġalarï must be the chiefs of rural communities; in Ḥājjī Giräy's immunity charter of 1453 they are mentioned as *el qartlarï* "seniors of the people": *tašqï sala qonumnïng el qartlarïnga* "to the chiefs of the outer villages and settlements" (line 32).[28]

The word *tamġa* has several meanings. The meaning "seal" is out of question, consequently some sort of tax is meant here. *Tamġa* may be customs duty, sales tax and later all sorts of taxes for non-Moslems, *tamġa* may also refer here to an unknown unit of measurement. We cannot say what it actually meant in connection with the forest, *iki tamġa ormanï* is perhaps a forest after which two sorts of taxes had to be payed. But this is only a conjecture, both the structure and its meaning is obscure. For the word *tamġa* see Doerfer, *TMEN* II, pp. 554–565.

The word *irek* means here "fortress, citadel". The word *ärk* is well-known in Chagatay dictionaries, its meaning is "die Citadelle der mittel-asiatischen Städte; sie befindet sich meist auf einer Erhöhung und in ihr befindet sich der Palast des Fürsten".[29] The word *ärk* is a borrowing from the Persian; *ark*, "a small citadel", *arg* "a small citadel within a larger one;"[30] the Persian word probably goes back to a Greek original. The Greek word, in Barthold's opinion, must have been borrowed by Persian in the Greco-Bactrian time. It had first spread in Seistan, but after the Mongol period it became a generally known term, in addition to Arabic *qal'a, ḥiṣār* and Persian *kuhandiz*.[31] Barthold is right in stating that the Turkic–Persian word *ark, ärk* has nothing to do with the generally spread Turkic word *ärk* "power, freedom". It is clearly shown by the fact that the latter word — quite regularly, in accordance with the Chagatay vowel development — is represented with a close *e* in the Chagatay dictionaries *(erk)* in contrast with *ärk* "fortress" written always with an *alif*.[32] Yet the possibility of linking the two words in a native speaker's mind, i.e. the possibility of a folk-etymology was given by the similarity of the two words in both sound and meaning. The form *irek* of our document proves that this possibility became realized. For the Tatar copyist of the original diploma the Chagatay word *ärk* "fortress" must have been unknown, because it was used only in the literary language and the language of the diplomas. Consequently, he connected it with the Tatar word *irek* "power, force" which is the Tatar equivalent of common Turkic *ärk, ärik*. This is the only way we can explain the word *irek* in our document. If this explanation holds true, it is a severe argument in favour of the authenticity of the document: an error of this sort

[28] A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*. Istanbul 1940, pp. 66–67.

[29] Radloff, *Wörterbuch* I, p. 776. For the data of the Chagatay dictionaries see A. K. Borovkov, *Badā'ī' al-luġat*. Moskva 1961, p. 66.

[30] Steingass, *Dictionary*, p. 38.

[31] V. V. Bartol'd, *Persidskoe slovo* ark *"krepost', citadel' ": Sočinenija* VII, Moskva 1971, pp. 413–416.

[32] In the Sanglaḫ, 99v 21: *erk* "iḫtiyar va qudrat" (Clauson, *Sanglax*).

could be done only if copying an original, meagerly understood document. The word *ärk* "fortress" survives only in a few modern languages, in those heavily indebted to Chagatay (Uzbek, Modern Uyghur).[33]

7–8 *Ekin ... almasunlar.* This formula is always repeated in the immunity charters, e.g. in Ḥājjī Giräy's edict of 1453 (line 40–41): *ekin tekin qïlsa ḫazir anbar tep ... tilämäsünlär almasunla⟨r⟩.*[34] The meaning of *ḫazir anbar* is not clear. It was obviously some sort of agricultural tax paid in nature (grain, etc.), but the meaning of *ḫazir* is obscure. It is more than probable that it is an Arabic word which became confused in the texts of the documents. It occurs in several documents, always in connection with *anbar*, and is spelt in three ways: حزر، حزیر، حضر. It shows that already the contemporary use of this term was uncertain. I think that the Arabic word *ḫazr* "estimation, valuation" was meant originally, and the form حزیر shows how it actually was pronounced by the Tatars. The form حضر is an error, it is a different Arabic word (*ḥaḍar* "presence; a settled region; residence at home") which by chance occurs in the Ṣāḥib Giräy edict (line 11, see further below) in its proper meaning. So *ḫazr anbar*, or *ḫazir anbar* — as it must have been pronounced on Turkic ground — may well have been the name of a tax which consisted of a certain quantity of grains determined by estimation in advance. The quantity of grains may have depended on space, time and persons.

9 The person of Ḥaydar ʿAlī sulṭān is unknown, he had not previously been mentioned in the document. As is seen, we think that he was the husband of the privileged woman Kül-bustān ḫatun. The first editors of the document have thought that this Ḥaydar ʿAlī sulṭān must have been an unknown khan from the Bulghar period (!), so our document is an affirmation of a first act of grant.[35] This interpretation cannot be accepted, because there was no such khan as Ḥaydar ʿAlī sulṭān. Besides, the institution of *tarḫanlïq* is unknown before the Mongol period, consequently no such document could have been issued in the Bulghar period.

11 The word *sanïlïġ* must be emended to *nišānlïġ* or *al nišānlïġ*. The emendation *sanlïġ* of the first editors cannot be accepted.[36] Firstly, in the *corroboratio* of a document always the "sealed edict" is mentioned, secondly the word *sanlïġ* does not mean "with rank, venerable", but "belonging to", e.g. in Toḫtamïš' edict of 1381 (line 9): *Sütkölgä sanlïġ kišilärin* "his people belonging to Sütköl".[37]

[33] Uzbek *ark* (*Uzb.-russk. sl.*, p. 39), Modern Uyghur *ärk* (*Ujg.-russk. sl.*, p. 68). Both words are used only in historical context.

[34] Kurat, *Topkapı*, pp. 66–67.

[35] Gosmanov–Möchämmäd'jarov–Stepanov, *Jaŋa jarlyk*, pp. 148–149.

[36] Gosmanov–Möchämmäd'jarov–Stepanov, *Jaŋa jarlyk*, pp. 148, 150.

[37] Berezin, *Tarchannye jarlyki*, p. 14. Berezin read erroneously *tabanlïġ* instead of *sanlïġ*.

The Russian File Concerning Ibrāhīm ḫān's Edict

(CGADA, fond 1173, opis' l, ed. chr. 196, ff. 2–6)

2 И с сего списка переведено, а в переводе написано.

Ибраима царя жалованная грамота по милости божии сироте вдовину сыну.

Же пожаловал я Кулбустана вдовина сына. З посланию Махамметову царь владетел ево отпустил, хто придет з добрым именем Кошкильду холопа своего. Быть ему в тарханстве Махамметя Алю да Махамметя Азю пожаловал, две тамги вотчиною лесом з большими своими волосными людьми.

И их, Махамбетя Алю да Махамбетя Азю, пожаловал болши всех своих волосных людей.

И без их ведома в тое их вотчину ни хто б не ходил, и пашню не пахали, и насилства никакова не чинили. А где они сами учнут пахать, и с них бы оброку не имать. И проезжие б люди насильством к ним не становились и посыльщики насильством подвод не имали.

А ся грамота Алея Салтана пожаловал дал Кулбастане жонке и детем ея Махамбетем Алею и Азию, да слуге своему Кошкильде. И нихто б их не тронул. И ся оберегальная грамота им дана.

Переводил абыз Артык Иманаев.

3 И с выписки челобитчик Кутлумбетько Кутлугушев сказал. Махамбет Азий да Махамбет Алю ему Кутлумбетьку деды родные, а жонка Кулбустана ему прабаба. А отец ево Кутлугуш при прежних бусурманских царех был в тарханех.

Служилой мурза Асан Кулунчаков по своей вере, по шерти сказал те ж речи, что и челобитчик Кутлумбетько сказал выше сего.

И знамя свое приложил ☆

4 И ныне великим государем царем и великим князем Иоанну Алексеевичю, Петру Алексеевичю всеа великиа и малыя и белыя России самодержцем бьет челом Кутлумбетько Кутлугушев, чтоб великие государи пожаловали велели ево написать на Уфе в уфимской служилой тарханской список и о том дать оберегальную память.

И в нынешнем во 193 (1685) году генваря в 19 день думной дворянин и воевода Иван Петрович Кошкарев слушав сей выписки велел Кутлумбетька Кутлугушева написать в список в служилые татара и о том дать оберегальную память.

В список писан и память дана такова ж, что и деревни Кармаш Досачку Байметеву с товарыщи, что он Кутлумбет в список написан, а к нему ясашных сборщиков и иных посыльщиков не присылывать, да и ни в чем ево не избычить.

5 Царем государем и великим князем Иоанну Алексеевичю, Петру Алексеевичю всеа великия и малыя и белыя России самодержцем бьет челом холоп Ваш уфинского уезду Казанские дороги деревни Тынламас татарин Кутлуметько Кутлугушев.

В прошлых годех давных служили дед и отец мой в служилых тарханех. И есть о том у меня казанских босурманских царей грамота татарским писмом писана. А я холоп Ваш в служилые тарханы не написан.

Милосердные государи цари и великие князи Иоанн Алексеевич, Петр Алексеевич всеа великия и малыя и белыя России самодержцы, пожалуйте меня холопа своего, велите, государи, меня на Уфе в служилой тарханской список написать. Цари государи, смилуйтеся, пожалуйте.

6 И против сего челобитя выписано.

В уфимских имянных тарханских и служилых татар и мещеряков, и в ясашных книгах прошлых лет и нынешнем 193 году Уфимского уезду Казанские дороги деревни Тынламас татарина Кутлумбетька Кутлугушева имяни ево не сыскано.

И к выписке челобитчик Кутлумбетько Кутлугушев подал з грамоты бусурманского царя список.

II. Ṣāḥib Giräy's Edict of 1523

This document was discovered by S. G. Vachidov in 1912, and is now preserved in the State Museum of the Tatar Republic, in Kazan' (*Gosudarstvennyj Muzej Tatarskoj Respubliki*, redkij fond, No. 5757). The document is original, moreover it is the only Kazan Tatar document preserved in original, so it has an outstanding significance for the history of the Kazan Khanate.

The document was issued by Ṣāḥib Giräy, Khan of the Kazan Khanate, on ṣafar 3, 929 A.H. = January 1, 1523 A.D. The khan confirms the privileges of Šäyḫ Aḥmäd and his companions, altogether seven persons, who had applied to the sovereign for the confirmation of their *tarḫan* rights.

Its size is 17,4 × 76 cm, written on a thick Oriental paper without water-mark. The document consists of two pieces of paper sticked together at line 16. Its state of preservation is rather bad, especially the first four lines are damaged. The end of lines 2, 3 and 4 has become more damaged than it was in Vachidov's time, since parts of text that have been read by Vachidov are lacking now. It consists of 23 lines. In lines 6 and 7 a few names of the granted persons must have been omitted, and they were later inserted on the margin, at right angle to the lines of the text. The place of the insertion was marked in the main text. The text was written with black ink, in *dīvānī* script with certain *riq'a* characteristics. There is one vermilion seal of quadratic form at the end of the document, its size is 13 × 13 cm. Its legenda, written in the *Kūfī* script, runs as follows: the *basmala*, the *tašahhud* (3 times), then come the ruler's name and titles: *al-*

sulṭān al-aʿẓam ʿizz al-dunyā wa'l-dīn abū'l-muẓaffar Ṣāḥib Giräy bahādur ḫān, and finally a blessing formula: *ḫallada'llāhu mulkahu wa ayyada salṭanatahu.*

On both margins of the document there are small holes at a distance of 1,5 ~ 2 cm each. Most probably the document was sewn onto a material for the sake of better preservation, so the holes are traces of former pin-pricks. At present the document is preserved between two sheets of glass in the museum.[38]

After Vachidov's discovery of the document it was first published in a preliminary form by Hādī Aṭlāsof in his *History of Kazan.*[39] More than ten years after the discovery Vachidov published the document with Russian translation and commentary.[40] Vachidov has done an honest work, but his commentaries and interpretations have often been superseded by subsequent research. He ascribed much more errors to the scribe than had in fact been committed. The edict of Ṣāḥib Giräy has become known in the Kazan Tatar historical scholarship, it has often been referred to.[41] In 1926 Abdullah Battal re-edited the text in Turkey, but in lack of a good authentic photograph he could not considerably improve the reading and translation of the document.[42] Finally one of the present authors has attempted to give a new translation without commentary.[43] We think that even after these editions the text is worth re-editing, its interpretation can be further improved. After the text, our translation and commentary, we shall give a Russian file of documents, for the first time here, which throws an interesting light on the aftermath of Ṣāḥib Giräy's edict.

The Russian file can be found in the Central State Historical Archives in Leningrad, among the acts of the Survey Department of the Governing Senate (CGIAL, fond 1350, opis' 56, ed. chr. 563, č. I, 1823, ff. 435–442). The file contains the records of a case of four Bashkirs from 1817 whose predecessors were *tarḫans* and were given land and immunity charter by the former Kazan Tatar khan, Ṣāḥib Giräy (435a: *do kazanskogo ešče vzjat'ja byvšij v Kazane Akbazy Sagib Girej chan požaloval prapradedov naših v tarchanskoe dostoinstvo i dal im ko vladeniju votčinu bortnoj uchožej po Iku reke po obe storony, kotoroju utverdil za nimi žalovannoju gramotoju.*). In the seventeenth century, for reasons unknown, other Bashkirs became proprietors of

[38] For a description of the edict see Usmanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.

[39] Hādī Aṭlāsof, *Qazan ḫanlïğï* I, Kazan 1914, p. 133. (هادی اطلاسف، قزان خانلغی)

[40] First in Tatar in the journal *Beznen jul* 1925, No. 3. S. Vachidov, *Jarlyk Chana Sachib-Gireja: Vestnik Naučnogo Obščestva Tatarovedenija* 1–2 (1925), pp. 29–37, S. G. Vachidov, *Issledovanie jarlyka Sachib-Girej chana: Izvestija Obščestva Archeologii, Istorii i Ėtnografii pri Kazanskom Gosudarstvennom Universitete* 33 (1926), vyp. 1, pp. 61–92.

[41] E.g. M. G. Chudjakov, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo chanstva.* Kazan' 1923, *Istorija Tatarii v dokumentach i materialach.* Moskva 1937, *Istorija Tatarskoj ASSR* I, Kazan' 1955. All these references are full of arbitrary readings, and add nothing new to the knowledge of the edict.

[42] A. Battal, *Kazan yurdunda bulunmuş tarihî bir vesika. Sâhib Girey Han yarlığı: Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1926), pp. 75–101. (written in the Arabic script)

[43] S. F. Muchamed'jarov, *Tarchannyj jarlyk Kazanskogo chana Sachib-Gireja 1523 g.: Novoe o prošlom našej strany. Pamjati akademika M. N. Tichomirova.* Moskva 1971, pp. 104–109.

the granted land along the river Ik, and in 1678, predecessors of the present applicants pleaded to the Tsar to reestablish their rights to the unlawfully appropriated land. In support of their plea they attached the original charter given by Ṣāḥib Giräy ḫān to Šäyḫ Aḥmäd and his companions, altogether seven people (439b–440a: *na tu votčinu položili tatarskago pis'ma tarchanskuju gramotu. . . . v toj tatarskoj gramote napisano: Abkazy-Sagib-Girej chan velel byt' v tarchanech Šit Achmet's tovarišči semi čelovekam, i do životov ich i do zemel', čem oni vladejut i v vody ich nikomu ne vstupatsja. Pisano to pis'mo 929 godu*). The date of the charter and the name and number of the granted persons make it obvious that the presented document must have been identical with Ṣāḥib Giräy's edict. Subsequently, the original proprietors who presented the charter, had been reaffirmed in their rights. Later, in 1799 a general land survey was ordered in the Orenburg Government. The emissary Lisicyn and the local Bashkir delegate had dealings with the land-lords Možarovs, and mutilated the applicants' landed property. In their application in 1817, the four Bashkirs, descendants of the granted persons mentioned in Ṣāḥib Giräy's edict, pleaded to the Tsar to redress their grievance. From this interesting legal file it becomes apparent that the charter of a Kazan Tatar khan, Ṣāḥib Giräy had served as a legal proof in law suits until the beginning of the 19th century.

As to the language of the document, it uses the literary language well known from the immunity charters of the Golden Horde. At the same time a marked preference for Arab–Persian forms and phrases is apparent, but it often happens that the scribe commits an error in orthography, mainly due to the influence of the spoken language.

Text

1 *[Abū'l-fatḥ] abqāzī*[a] *Ṣāḥib Giräy [ḫān sözüm.]*
2 *. . . vä ḥukkām vä sälā[ṭīn-i ʿiẓām vä quḍāt-i islām]*[b]
3 *vä mävālī ḏu'l-iḥtirām vä ärbāb vä kalān[tarān vä muqīmān vä elčiyān vä yamčiyān]*[c]
4 *vä käštībānān vä guzärbānān, tutqavulān vä tamġačiyān vä ǰumhūr säkänä vä ʿum[ūm darugagān-i (?)]*
5 *vilāyāt-i Ġazan vä mämālik-i maḥrūsä, ḥimiyat ʿan al-āfāt va'l-baliyyātlarġa bu nišān*
6 *yetkäč söz olkim: Bu Muḥammäd oġlï Šäyḫ Aḥmäd, daġï Šäyḫ Aḥmädning oġlï Abdal,*[d] *daġï Säyyid Aḥmäd, inisi Maḥmütäk*[e] *oġlï Mūsā,*

[a]Recte: *al-ġāzī(?)* [b]The text in brackets was read by Vachidov, now it is missing. [c]The text was read by Vachidov, now it is missing. [d]The words *daġï Šäyḫ Aḥmädning oġlï Abdal* is written on the margin. [e]The words *inisi Maḥmütäk* are inserted above the line. [f]The words *inisi Bulans, daġï inisi Nūr Säyyid* are written on the margin. [g]Recte: *ta'arruḍ.* [h]Recte: *ḫarājāt.* [i]Recte: *mubāräk.* [j]Recte: *ṣafar.*

7 *Säyyid oġlï Yaʿqūb, inisi Bulans, daġï inisi Nūr Säyyid,*[f] *bu yedi kim ersä bizgä*
kelip baš urdïlar.
8 *Ävväl ḫān aġalarïmïzdan tarḫan bolġan kišilär ekändür biz daġï soyurġap*
9 *bu mäḏkūr kim ersälärni Tängri taʿālā riḍāsï vä taqï Muḥammäd räsūlullāh*
šäfāʿatï üčün
10 *tarḫan qïldïm. Min baʿd bu mušār ilayhumlarġa yollarïnda vä inlärindä,*
11 *säfärlärindä ḥaḍarlarïnda, olturġanlarïnda vä turġanlarïnda, kišilärinä*
12 *vä qaralarïna, yüklärinä čarvalarïna färid min al-āfāt vä väjh min al-vujūh*
13 *daḫl vä taqāruḍ*[g] *qïlmasunlar. Yasaq qalan, salïġ musammā salmasunlar, qoluš*
14 *qoltqa, bāč vä ḫarǰ qarājāt*[h] *dep tilämäsünlär. Māl vä ilmäklärinä aq vä āb*
zämïnlärinä
15 *däst-i taṭāvul qïlmasunlar. Ev{i}lärinä küč bilä elči qondurmasunlar,*
16 *ṣïla ḫarjï, yer ḫablasï, tütün sanï dep almasunlar. Süsün ʿulūfa tilämäsünlär.*
17 *Qayuma yandïn nuqsān ḍarar tegürmäsünlär. Öz färāġatï bilä olturup*
18 *šām u ṣabāḥ vä ġuduvv rävāḥ bizgä vä bizing uruġïmïzġa duʿā vä alqïš*
19 *qïlsunlar vä här nāḥïdin küč basï⟨n⟩č, zaḥmät yunčuġ tegürmäsünlär. Basa*
20 *bulayu teyü turġač yarlïġ tïnglamay, küč basï⟨n⟩č, zaḥmät yunčuġ tegürgän*
kišilärning
21 *özlärinä ne yaḫšïsï bolġay dep al nišānlïġ yarlïġ berildi.*
22 *Tārïḫ toquz yüz yigirmi toquzda, mübārāk*[i] *säfär*[j] *ayïnïng on üčünči kün*
23 *erdi.*

Translation

(1) ["Father of Victory",] the Fighter (?) Ṣāḥib Giräy [ḫān my word]. (2–5) . . . and to the governors and [mighty sultans, cadis of Islam] and venerable judges, landholders and [chiefs, inhabitants and envoys, post-officers] and sailors, ferrymen and patrols, tax-collectors and all residents and [all governors ?] of the Kazan provinces and the divinely protected dominions — be they guarded from troubles and calamities. (6–7) After this charter had reached (those whom may it concern), my command is as follows: This Muḥammäd's son Šäyh Aḥmäd, and Šäyh Aḥmäd's son Abdal, and Säyyid Aḥmäd, his younger brother Mahmütäk's son Müsä, Säyyid's son Yaʿqūb, his younger brother Bulans and his younger brother Nūr Säyyid, these seven persons have come to us and applied. (8–9) Since they have been made *tarḫans* by our former khan brothers, we also granted them, and I made these mentioned persons *tarḫans* by the grace of God, may He be exalted, and by the intercession of Muḥammäd, prophet of God. (10–12) From now on may (nobody) cause trouble or injure the above-mentioned (persons) by any means, whether they are on roads or in shelters whether they travel or are at home, whether they sit or stand. (Let nobody injure) their servants and their livestock, their beasts of burden and cattle. (13–14) Tribute and taxes, (taxes such as) *salïġ* and *musammā* should not be levied on them, *qoluš qoltqa, bāč* and *ḫarǰ ḫarājat* should not be demanded (from them). Their property and their horses, . . . and

their waters and lands (15–16) should not be seized (from them). Envoys should not be accommodated in their houses with force, (taxes such as) bounty, ? of land and hearth-tax should not be taken (from them). Rations and fodder should not be demanded (from them). (17–19) No trouble or harm should be caused (to them) from any side. Living in peace, in the evening and in the morning, at sunrise and at sunset they should pronounce prayers and benedictions for us and for our progeny. Any sort of violence, oppression, torment or vexation (of them) should be avoided. (20–21) Since I have said so, what sort of good may proceed to those who will not observe the (commands of the) edict and will do violence, or will oppress, torment and vex them? Thus an edict with vermilion seal was given. (22–23) Date: in nine hundred and twenty nine, it was the thirteenth day of the blessed *ṣafar* month.

Commentary

1 The interpretation of the word *abqāzī* is difficult. The Russian translators of the 17th century were also at a loss in interpreting the word, they thought it was a name of Ṣāḥib Giräy ḫān, and transcribed the word as *Akbazy* and *Abkazy* (ff. 435a, 440a). It is not too probable. Vachidov and Battal think that the word is a distortion of *al-ġāzī*, epithet of Ṣāḥib Giräy, and in the now missing part the word *al-sulṭān* was written.[44] This supposition is plausible as far as *al-ġāzī* is concerned, but for the missing part we would rather suggest *abū'l-fatḥ* 'father of victory', because in documents issued by Ṣāḥib Giräy in his Crimean period always the epithets *abū'l-fatḥ al-ġāzī* occur.[45]

2–3 *Quḍāt-i islām vä mävālī ḍu'l-iḥtirām*, both terms refer to the Muslim clergy. *Ärbāb vä kalāntarān* refer here to the chiefs of rural and urban communities. These terms often occur in the Persian documents of the Turkmen dynasties, e.g. in a charter of Qara-Yūsuf Qara-Qoyunlu from 1417: *arbāb va kalāntarān*.[46] The Turkic equivalents are *el qartlarï* or *el aġalarï*, for the latter see Ibrāhīm ḫān's edict (line 6), above.

The word *mukīmān* was translated as "činovniki na mestach" by Vachidov.[47] The Arabic word *muqīm* means "dweller, resident, inhabitant", and it has the same meaning in Persian documents, e.g. in the above-mentioned charter of Qara-Yūsuf the *kutvālān va muqīmān-i qilā'* "the porters and the residents of the forts" are mentioned.[48] In a Crimean Tatar diploma of Sälim Giräy from 1096 A. H./1684–85 A.

[44] Vachidov, *Jarlyk*, p. 34; Vachidov, *Issledovanie*, p. 63; Battal, *Ŝâhib Girey han yarlığı*, p. 86.

[45] E.g. in two charters of Ṣāḥib Giräy issued in 1550, lines 1 and 1. For the descriptions of documents see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty*, pp. 41–42 (Nos. 22, 23).

[46] I. P. Petruševskij, *Očerki po istorii feodal'nych otnošenij v Azerbajdžane i v Armenii v XVI–načale XIX v.*, Leningrad 1949, pp. 151–152.

[47] Vachidov thinks that the word must be read *maqām* "place" (Vachidov, *Issledovanie*, p. 82).

[48] Petruševskij, *Očerki*, p. 151.

D. the term *yatur elči* occurs in the meaning "an envoy who is stationed at a particular place".[49] Consequently we venture the conclusion that the terms *muqīmān vä elčiyān* refer to two sorts of envoys, those who stay at one place, and those who are on their way. But this idea is as yet hypothetical.

4 *Käštībānān vä guzärbānān* are the Persian equivalents of Turkic *kemäči köprükči*, see e.g. Temür Qutluġ's edict of 1398, line 11.[50]

7 The Turkic expression *baš ur-* "to prostrate, to pay homage, to plead" served as model for its Russian loan translation *čelom bit'*.

8 The term *ḫān aġalarïmïz* "our khan brothers" is a stereotype expression for the predecessors of the khan, irrespective of the real grade of consanguinity. It often occurs in the documents of the Golden Horde and the successor Tatar states, see e.g. Temür Qutluġ's edict of 1398, line 17.[51]

9 *Tängri . . . üčün*. This blessing formula is typical of the Kazan Tatar immunity charters, it occurs in Ibrāhīm's edict too. See notes to lines 1–2 of Ibrāhīm's edict, above.

10 *Inlärindä* and *izlärindä* are both possible readings. We think the word *iz* "trace, footprint" is less probable here, the word *in* "cave, shelter, asylum" better fits into the context.[52]

12 The word *čarva* "cattle" is a borrowing from Persian *čahārpā* "quadruped". It survives in Modern Uyghur *čarva, čarpa*, Kirghiz *čarba*, Uzbek *čorva*, Karakalpak *šarwa*, Turkmen *čarva*, Ottoman *çarpâ*.[53] The word *čarva* was a technical term of the animal husbandry of the settled population. E.g. in the 19th century in the Khanate of Khiva the name of the tax *zäkät* taken after the livestock of the sedentary population was *yurt čarva* or *čarva qoyïdïn zäkavät* "the tax taken after the sheep of the stock-breeders". In contrast with this tax there was the *qïrdali zäkavät* or *qïrdalï qoy zäkavät* "the tax taken after the sheep of the steppe", which was levied on the nomadic Kazaks who lived in the steppe area adjacent to the Khanate.[54] The Persian term often occurs in the Persian documents of the 15th–16th centuries, e.g. in a charter of the Aq-

[49] V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo chanstva*, Spb. 1864, p. 734. It was A. N. Samojlovič who paid attention to this data *(Neskol'ko popravok k jarlyku Timur-Kutluga: Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk* 1918, p. 1115.

[50] V. V. Radlov, *Jarlyki Toktamyša i Temir-Kutluga: ZVOIRAO* 3 (1888), pp. 19, 25.

[51] Radlov, *Jarlyki*, pp. 19, 26.

[52] For *in* see É. Fazylov, *Starouzbekskij jazyk. Chorezmskie pamjatniki XIV veka* I, Taškent 1966, p. 418.

[53] Modern Uyghur *čarpa, čarva* "skot, skotína", 2. "chozjájstvo" (*Ujg.-russk. sl.*, pp. 381, 382); Kirghiz *čarba* 1. "chozjajstvo", 2. "skotovodčeskoe chozjajstvo", 3. "skotovod", 4. "domašnee životnoe; skot" (*Kirg.-russk. sl.*, p. 848); Uzbek *čorva* "skot" (*Uzb.-russk. sl.*, p. 527); Karakalpak *šarwa* "skotovód" (*Russko-karak. sl.*, p. 934); Turkmen *čarva* "skotovód-kočévnik; nomád" (*Turkm.-russk. sl.*, 724); Turkish *çarpâ* "četveronógoe [živótnoe]" (*Turecko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1977, p. 170).

[54] Ju. E. Bregel', *Dokumenty archiva chivinskich chanov po istorii i étnografii karakalpakov*. Moskva 1967, p. 49.

Qoyunlu ruler Alvand from 1490 (line 26): *čahārpāyān-i īšān-rā bi-ulāġ nagīrand* "their quadrupeds should not be taken for conveyance".[55]

The phrase *vājh min al-vujūh* "by no means" occurs in several Persian documents, e.g. in a charter of Jihān-šah Qara-Qoyunlu, from 1453 (line 9): *bi-hīč vajh min al-vujūh* "d.".[56]

13 *Taqāruḍ* obviously reflects the popular pronunciation of Arabic *taʿarruḍ* "opposition, obstacle; oppression, injury". The use of this term in our document again points in the direction of Persian chancelleries, namely in Persian documents of the age the expression *taʿarruḍ rasānīdan* is quite common, e.g. in a charter of the Jalairid ruler Šayḫ Uvays, from 1358 (line 8): *taʿarruḍ narasānand* "nobody should injure [the privileged persons]".[57]

13–14 It is not our task now to thoroughly elucidate the meaning and history of terms denoting different sorts of taxes. This task needs a separate monograph that ought to be based on a detailed analysis of contemporary Turkic and Persian sources. At best we can make a few cursory remarks concerning them. But certain considerations must be borne in mind when dealing with problems of taxation. Firstly, the meaning of terms may considerably change by the lapse of time. Secondly, the name of a tax may disappear, but the tax itself continues to be levied under a new name. So the same tax may be designated by different names. Thirdly, the system of taxation in the Golden Horde and its successor states was not a clear-cut system similar to those in a modern state. Consequently, there are certain ambiguities and overlappings in the use of these terms.

The phrase *yasaq qalan* occurs in several charters of the Golden Horde, seemingly it is a generic binom expressing the basic taxes levied on the population, the poll-tax and the land tax, although all sorts of taxes could be meant by them. *Yasaq* could be the most general term for taxes, e.g. in Ḥājjī Giräy's charter of 1459 (lines 11–12): *yasaqlïdan yasaqsïzdan kim taqï kelip qalʿädä oltursa yasaqdan qalandan tarḫan bolsun* "whosoever comes and settles down in the fort, from among those who are taxable or from among those who are tax-free, may he be exempt (*tarḫan*) from all sorts of taxes (*yasaq qalan*)."[58]

Saliġ must have been another name for the poll-tax levied on the Muslim population as well. It must have been the Turkic name of what had been called *qubčur*

[55] H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer and safawidischer Urkunden*. Kairo 1959, p. 166.

[56] Busse, *Untersuchungen*, p. 149.

[57] G. Herrmann—G. Doerfer, *Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlass des Ǧalāyeriden Šeyḫ Oveys: CAJ* 19 (1975), p. 5.

[58] The document is unpublished, only a Russian translation was given by V. D. Smirnov, *Tatarsko-chanskie jarlyki iz kollekcii Tavričeskoj Učenoj Archivnoj Kommissii: Izvestija Tavr. Uč. Arch. Kom.* 54 (1918), pp. 8–9. For a description of the charter see Usmanov, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

in Mongol, in Iran of the 13th–14th centuries.[59] This term often occurs in the edicts of the Golden Horde and early Crimean Khanate, always preceded or accompanied by the Arabic word *musammā* "called, named": *salïġ musammā* or *musammā salïġ*. In the latter case we could translate it as "the so-called *salïġ* (poll-tax)", in the former case we may leave the word *musammā* without translation. Then it would substitute the well known Turkic gerund form *tep, dep* "saying" often used in the edicts after the enumeration of taxes, e.g. even in the Ṣāḥib Giräy yarlik (lines 14, 16). There is an interesting place in Ḥāǰǰī Giräy's edict of 1459 (line 14): *salïg musammā tep almasunlar* which we simply translate as "poll-tax should not be taken (from them)".[60] This instance shows that the original meaning of *musammā* must have been blurred, and *salïg musammā* or *musammā salïġ* must have been looked at as if a binom occurring so often in the documents, then the gerund *tep* was added to it. Needless to say, there is no such tax as *musammā*, consequently the above structure can be explained only by supposing that the scribe misunderstood the phrase. In spite of what has been said so far an air of uncertainty is left around the phrase. We cannot give a satisfactory answer to the question why the word *musammā* was used practically only in connection with *salïġ* (there is one example when it is connected with *qalan*).[61]

Qoluš qoltqa is again a binom which denotes a form of tax. Both words derive from the verb *qol-* "to ask for, to pray", and both mean "request".[62] This term may be the Turkic equivalent of Mongol *γuyul* which is a nomen verbale in *-l* from the verb *γuyu-* "to request". It occurs in a Mongolian document written in the 13th century in Persia of the il-khans: . . . *tusqu γuyul ulaγ-a . . . buu γuyutuγay* "let them not request . . . provisions, loans, relay animals . . .".[63] Cleaves translates the term *γuyul* as "loan" because this meaning is given in the *Mukaddimat al-adab*, but the precise meaning of this tax is unknown. The contemporary Russian translation of *qoluš qoltqa* must have been *zapros* or *zaprosy*.[64] These terms must have denoted several sorts of compulsory bounty given to the khan, the landlord, etc. on certain occasions. For such bounty known under several names in Iran (*sāvarī ʿīdī, navrūzī, pīškaš, salāmānä*, etc.) see Petruševskij, *Zemledelie*, pp. 392–393.

Bāǰ is a well known Persian term for "toll levied by the road-patrol". Its Turkic equivalent is *yol ḥaqqï* (Temür Qutluġ's edict of 1398, lines 41–42) or *yolluq* (Mängli

[59] I. P. Petruševskij, *Zemledelie i agrarnye otnošenija v Irane XIII—XIV vekov*. Moskva—Leningrad 1960, pp. 360–369.

[60] For this charter see note 58 above.

[61] For *yasaq, qalan* and *salïġ* in the Golden Horde see G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Obščestvennyj stroj Zolotoj Ordy*. Moskva 1973, pp. 127–128, with further bibliography, but in a very confused manner.

[62] For the verb *qol-* see G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, p. 616–617. The form *qoltqa* survives only in Karaim in the meaning "pros'ba, mol'ba; molitva" *(Kar.-russko-pol'skij sl.*, pp. 331, 369).

[63] F. W. Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran: HJAS* 16 (1953), pp. 31, 32; 91, n. 2.

[64] The 1st, 2nd and 4th charter given to the Russian clergy *(Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, Moskva 1955, pp. 465, 468, 469).

Giräy's edict of 1485, line 7).[65] It is noteworthy that the name of the collectors of this toll in the latter edict is *bazargan daruġalarï*, so the superiors of the merchants (or commercial supervisors) were in charge of collecting the road-tax. The later name of this toll in Iran (16th–18th centuries) was *rāhdārī* (formed of *rāhdār* "road-patrol").[66]

Ḫarǰ is tax in general, *ḫarāǰ* is "land tax". The binom *ḫarǰ ḫarāǰāt* may denote all sorts of land tax, or perhaps even all sorts of taxes in general.[67] In Persian *bāǰ u ḫarāǰ* is "tribute and contribitions, duties, taxes".[68]

The word *aq* cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. Vachidov interpreted it as *aqčä* "money", Battal put forward another solution: *aq* "milk and dairy products".[69] Both suggestions must be refuted. We left the word untranslated.

Āb zämīn is a Persian loan translation of Turkic *yer suv* "land and water; landed property" which occurs in Temür Qutluġ's edict of 1398 (lines 26, 28–29).[70]

15 *Däst-i taṭāvul* is from Persian *dast-i taṭāvul* "hand of oppression, tyranny, rudeness", *däst-i taṭāvul qïl-* is translated from Persian *dast-i taṭāvul darāz kardan* "to spread the hand of violence", i.e. "to want to seize/grasp sg/sy".

16 *Ṣïla* is from Arabic *ṣila* "gift, present, bounty". *Ṣïla ḫarǰï* is obviously a sort of compulsory gift (see also *qoluš qoltqa* above). In the Iran of the Aq-Qoyunlu dynasty *ṣila* was known as a sort of tax, it is mentioned in Faḍlullāh's *Tārīḫ-i Amīnī*. Minorsky translates it as "offerings".[71]

Yer ḫablasï is translated by Vachidov as "land tax",[72] Battal thinks it must be emended to *qabāla* "contract of sale",[73] and *yer ḫablasï* would mean a tax paid when a landed property was sold. This may seem a plausible explanation but the emendation of *ḫabla* to *qabāla* is questionable, so we left the term untranslated.

Tütün sanï corresponds to the English *hearth-tax*. It must have been different from the poll-tax paid after the number of heads, *tütün sanï* was paid after the number of households. In Hülegid Iran the tax *ḫanä šumārä* seems to correspond to *tütün sanï*, in later times it was called *yurtānä*, in Azerbaijan *otaḫ ḫarǰï*.[74]

For *süsün ʿulūfa* "rations and fodder for state officials" see in detail I. Vásáry, Susun *and* Süsün *in Middle Turkic Texts: AOH* 31 (1977), pp. 51–59.

19, 20 *Yunčuġ* "vexation, injury" is a very rare word. It occurs in Middle Turkic only in the language of the charters of the Golden Horde, almost exclusively as part of

[65] Radlov, *Jarlyki*, p. 20. Mängli Giräy's edict of 1485 is unpublished, only a Russian translation was given by Smirnov, *Tatarsko-chanskie jarlyki*, pp. 13–14. For a description of the charter see Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty*, pp. 35–36.

[66] Petruševskij, *Zemledelie*, p. 387.

[67] For *ḫarāǰ* in Iran of the 13th—14th centuries see Petruševskij, *Zemledelie*, pp. 369–372.

[68] Steinglass, *Dictionary*, p. 136.

[69] Vachidov, *Issledovanie*, p. 90; Battal, *Sâhib Girey han yarlığı*, p. 96.

[70] Radlov, *Jarlyki*, p. 19.

[71] V. Minorsky, *The Aq-qoyunlu and Land Reforms (Turkmenica*, 11): *BSOAS* 17 (1955), p. 456.

[72] Vachidov, *Issledovanie*, p. 91.

[73] Battal, *Sâhib Girey han yarlığı*, p. 97.

[74] Petruševskij, *Zemledelie*, p. 387; Petruševskij, *Očerki*, p. 283.

the binom *yunčuġ zaḥmät* or *zaḥmät yunčuġ*. In Ḥākānī it was *yunčïġ* "in a bad condition, weak", a typical word of the Karakhanid literary language.[75] So seemingly the word *yunčuġ* is a heritage of the former Turkic literary language in the documents of the Golden Horde where, in a specific sense, it became a technical term used always in a stereotyped formula. The verb *yunčï-* "to become weak or emaciated" from which our word was formed survives in Kazan Tatar (*yončï-*), Bashkir *yonso-* and in a palatal form in Tobol Tatar *yünči-*.[76]

The Russian File Concerning Ṣāḥib Giräy's Edict

(CGIAL, fond 1350, opis' 56, ed. chr. 563, č. I, 1823, ff. 435–442.)

435a Всепресветлейший державнейший великий государь император Александр Павлович самодержец всероссийский государь всемилостивейший.

Просят Оренбурской губернии Мензелинскаго уезда Булярской волости Мушугинской тюбы поверенные, происходящие из тарханскаго роду башкирцы деревень Аймановой Гадилша Субанаев, Мушуги Ахметь Ильметев, Усызюбеир Масягутов и Сасыбурун Габдулхалик Ях{н}иев. А о чем тому следуют пункты.

1-е

До Казанскаго еще взятья бывший в Казане Акбазы Сагиб Гирей хан пожаловал прапрадедов наших в тарханское достоинство и дал им ко владению вотчину бортной ухожей по Ику реке по обе стороны, которую утвердил за ними жалованною грамотою. Но впоследствии времени неизвестно нам по какому праву завладели тою вотчино, Уфимскаго уезда Осинские дороги иреттинские башкирцы Каракусна Аканаев с товарищи и по четырех летнем их владении по прозьбе предков наших деревни Мушуги ясашных татар Акеша Доскеева и Мурзаная Юичеева и по указу великаго государя царя и великаго князя Феодора Алексеевича Всея Великия и Малыя и Белыя России самодержца, присланному к стольнику и уфимскому воеводе Скуратову был произведен /

435б о той спорной вотчине розыск, при коем разных деревень и волостей башкирцы, чуваша, и черемиса сто дватцать один человек удостоверили: "что де

[75] Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 945.

[76] Kazan Tatar *yončuw* 1. "utomljáť sja, iznurjáť sja, izvodít'sja, izmúčit'sja", 2. "bespokóit', trevóžit', etc." (*Tatarsko-russk. sl.*, pp. 191, 78); Bashkir *yonsow* "utomljáť sja, umorít'sja, iznurjáť sja, izvodit'sja" (*Bašk.-russk. sl.*, p. 227); Tobol Tatar *yünči-* "schwach werden, ermatten" (Radloff, *Wörterbuch* III, p. 598).

о которой вотчине у уфимских башкирцов Каракузна Аканаева с товарищи с ясашными татары с Акешкою Доскеевым с товарищи спор и та вотчина Акешкова с товарищи а не башкирская и владели истари деды и отцы их Акешков и товарищи его. А подле оных иреттинских башкирцов вотчины по реке Ику нет и не знают." Почему та вотчина пожалованною от его великаго государя царей князя означенным предкам нашим в 26-й день февраля 7188-го года грамотою утверждена в собственную и неотъемлемую их принадлежность, которую как они, а по них и их потомки в вышеписанных и других деревнях жительствующие владели. Право владения ею и на будущее время роду нашему неприкосновенным подтверждено еще Указом бывшей Оренбурской губернской канцелярии 12-го октября 1766-го года по случаю произшедшаго на нас со стороны Казанской дороги Янейской волости деревни Бекбодой от башкирца Кучума Маметева доносу.*اوشبو

2-е

Когда же открылось в Оренбурской губернии Генеральное земель размежевание, то к откомандированному от Оренбурской межевой канторы в 1799-м году в Мензелинской уезд землемеру Лисицыну был избран от нас поверенным для показания граней и урочищ пожалованной /

436а нам земли и утверждения оной за нами башкирец Арасланбек Султанбеков и уполномочен надлежащею доверенностию. Но он в явное нарушение даннаго ему доверия без ведома и согласия нашего сообщась с землемером Лисицыном и обходя смежную с помещиками Матвеем — Никитой Можаровыми землю и захватя оную не по Ику реке, а выше более двух верст дубравы протяжную линию прошли речьку Тошлияр, где из них Никитой Можаровым усильно построена мельница от сей же речьки до озера Базаны, всю оную землю он Можаров назвав своею собственною, на что ему со стороны повереннаго нашего Султанбекова предполагательно по видам корыстолюбивым никакого спору и противоречия объявляемо не было. Обойдение ж той земли было непилированными вехами, а зделанными землемерскими салдатами, да и понятые к сему требованы были незнающие ни участков, ни меж той земли из жителей деревни Маткауш дыреевой. К чему долженствовало употребить живущих в смежности с нами ирехтинской волости башкирцов, которые бы могли показать справедливость и развести нас с Можаровыми безспорно. А напоследок, отступя от сей Можаровской земли прошли по смежности близ Иштеряковскаго завода казанскаго купца Иноземцова, где прежде сего еще припродаже к тому заводу леса от Ирехтинской волости назначены /

**ošbu.*

436б межи и урочища, пройдены просеки и на тех просеках поставлены столбы и изрыты ямы, но поверенной Султанбеков, отступя от того прямаго нашего владения по согласию землемера Лисицына, с коим неоднократно бывали у заводосодержателя в гостях, скрытно уступил свою землю под предлогом якобы незнания об оной землемер же Лисицын, несмотря на наше право владение делал в их пользу так, что проходя наш лес не требовал от нас показания оному, произвел отвод по одному только указанию двороваго его Мажарова человека, о чем от нас в сентябре м(еся)це 1799-го года подано в Мензелинской уездной суд явочьное прошение. Сверх же сего ог Султанбеков в отводной скаске, поданной землемеру Лисицыну, не показал одновотчинской с нами деревни Качькиновой.* بورجبوغا

3-е

Оренбурская межевая кантора разсматривая представленныя во оную от землемера Лисицына на безпорно обмежеванныя им в том 1799-м году в Мензелинском уезде дачи планы с межевыми книгами и производствами Булярской волости Мушугинской тюбы деревни Атрекли с деревнями владения башкирцов, и на их землях живущих иноверцов и находя, что земли, против положенной на число душ пропорции, открылось великое превосходство, а по сему и требовала в 1803-м году чрез Мензелинской земской суд от нас поверенных с крепостьми на оную землю по поводу таковаго /

437а требования мы на принадлежность земли и протчих угодий деревням, в Мушугинской тюбе состоящим выданные предкам нашим жалованную грамоту 7188 февраля 26-го и указ 12-го октября 1766 года для представления в межевую кантору в том же 1803-м году вверили избранным со всего вотченников башкирцов согласия поверенным башкирцам же деревень Зюбеировой Мухаметькулыю Алмакаеву и Атреклей Абдулгазе Ахмерову. Но не имея в продолжении четырнадцатилетняго времени сведения ни о представлении поверенными нашими прав в межевую кантору, ни о решении ея, какое ею по сему делу в продолжении вышеописаннаго времени учинено. А по сему одновотченники наши данною нам за свидетельством Мензелинскаго земскаго суда доверенностию поручили настоять в Оренбурской межевой канторе прозьбою о узнании действительно ли вышепомянутые выданные предкам нашим башкирцам Акашу Доскееву и Мурзакаю Юкичееву на жалованные им земли грамота и указ были представлены к производимому о земле нашей делу, а также коликое число душ дворов по отводной скаске землемеру Лисицыну от повереннаго Султанбекова показано и есть ли по выправке откроется, что упомянутые права теми поверенными не были во оную кантору представлены и на отводной скаске показано не то количество дворов, какое тогда

* *Borč-buġa.*

существовало. То поручили нам в межевой канторе с представлением выданных /

437б прав просить и настоять дабы оная на сочиняемом плане и межевой книге всеми упоминаемыми деревнями всех нас башкирцов по означенным правам показали общими владельцами, а буде по каким лидо обстоятельствам дело из оной канторы отослано в межевую канцелярию то о вышеписанных обстоятельствах также настаивать своими прозьбами и во оной межевой канцелярии соглас{т}но данной нам доверенности. Явясь мы в межевую кантору уведомились, что означенное о земле Булярской волости дело из оной канторы отослано на разсмотрение в Межевой департамент Правительствующаго Сената, и поверенным нашим Салтанбековым на отводной землемеру Лисицыну скаске показано вотченских башкирских сто семьдесят девять дворов, каковых и по настоящей 7-й ревизии щитается оных "309" в них душ мужеска пола 1022-ве, а по сему мы чрез поданную в Межевую кантору прозьбу получив с последовавшаго во оную из Правительствующаго Сената указа за свидетельством копию и видя из оной, что представление о сем межевой канторы для совокупнаго Сенату разсмотрения с делом, производящимся о казусах по Оренбурской губернии о землях, принадлежащих башкирцам и живущих на их землях по припускам тептерей и других иноверцов, приобщено к тому дело между протчим также. Усмотрели, что помещенная в том указе жалованная предкам нашим /

438а грамота прописана против подлинной, имеющейся у нас в сокращенном содержании. А по сему находим себя в сомнении, в каком существе прежними нашими поверенными означенная грамота представлена в Межевую кантору, в том ли в каком пожалована или в том, в каком прописана в Указе Правительствующаго Сената почему, прилагая точную со оной грамоты копию а равно таковую ж с явочьнаго прошения в Мензелинской уездной суд подаваннаго и доверенность от мирскаго общества нам данную, а по сему всеподданнейше просим.*قول.

Дабы Высочайшим Вашего Императорскаго Величества указом повелено было сие прошение с означенными на право владения земли документов принять, и по разсмотрении означенной нашей грамоты и дела в Правительствующем Сенате производящагося о казусах по Оренбурской губернии предписать первоначально чрез кого надлежит Мензелинскому земскому суду с тем, чтоб оной о принадлежности по всемилостивейше пожалованной нам грамоте о земле, произвел местное и должное исследование, по которому должно открыться кому именно вышеозначенная земля должна принадлежать и по окончании справки о принадлежности благоволил бы Мензелинской нижней земской суд /

* *qol.*

438б доставить в Правительствующий Сенат Межеваго Департамента. А потом согласно разсмотрения предписать Оренбурской Межевой канторе дабы выдала нам на владение тою землею значущимся во всемилостивейше пожалованной грамоте урочищам план и межевую книгу со включением во оной общими владельцами башкирцов деревень Аймановой, Мушуги, Усы Качькиновой, Сасыбурун, Семяковой, Чуплюковой, Иркеняшевой Кулуновой, Атрекли, Зюбеировой Итюковой неправильной же землемера Лисицына отвод учиненной из собственной нашей земли помещикам Можаровым разсмотря постановить о сем законное определение.*قويدوم

Всемилостивейший Государь прошу Вашего Императорскаго Высочества о сем нашем прошении решение учинить ноября " " дня 1817-го года. К поданию надлежит в Правительствующий сенат Межеваго Департамента прошение сие со слов вышеизъясненных просителей и с имеющихся у них документов вчерне сочинял и набело переписывал уволенной от горной службы унтершихтмейстер Дмитрий Прокофьев сын Ремезов. К сему прошению вышеозначенные просители Гадылша Субанаев ⅄ Ахметь Ильметев ⅄ Усы Зюбеир Масагутов ⅄ по порядку имян приложили бортные свои тамги по неумению грамоте, а Габ-Габдулхалик Яхиев попунктно по-татарски приложил руку.
**باشقورط عبد ولخاليق ياحي او غلي.

439а От Царя и Великаго князя Федора Алексеевича Всея Великия и Малые и Белые России самодержца на Уфу околничему нашему и воеводе Петру Дмитриевичу Скуратову. В прошлом 186-м году писал к нам великому государю с Уфы столник наш и воевода Венедикт Хитрово и прислал подоприскою своею с очных ставок и челобитья Ирехтинские волости башкирцов да Казанские дороги чюваши о вотчине перечневую вышиску. А в перечневой выписке написано: Уфимскаго уезда Казанские дороги деревни Тураевы чуваше чувашайку Тураеву с товарищи вотчиною по Ику реке велено владеть, а башкирцам Каракуске Акаанаеву с товарищи отказано, потому что в сыску сказал, что та спорная вотчина чувашская, а не башкирская. А в 186-м году по нашему великаго государя указу и по Соборному уложению и по ясашным книгам 129, 130 и 136-го годов и по сыску столник и воевода Венедикт Хитрово велел тою спорною вотчиною владеть башкирцам Каракуске Аканаеву с товарищи, а чуваше чувашайке Тураеву с товарищи отказал для того башкирским вотченикам чуваше для ссор владеть не велено. И в прошлом 187 году били челом нам великому государю Уфимскаго уезда Казанские дороги деревни Мушуги ясашные татары Акешка Доскеев с товарищи в прошлых де

* *qoydum*. The insertions must be read together as follows: *ošbu Borč-buġa qol qoydum* "(I) B. put my signature."

** *Bašqurṭ 'Abdulḥaliq Yaḥī oġl* "'A. son of Y., the Bashkir".

годех даны дедам и отцам их и им вотчины бортной ухожей по Ику реке по обе стороны, рыбные ловли с истоки и с озеры и со всякими звериными ловлями, а в той де вотчине верхняя межа Мазарялга до Мушиги баши, Капчик баши, а нижняя межа Тюпыря тамга. /

439б И с той де вотчины платят они ясаку в Казане и на Уфе по тритцати по три куницы, да в Казане ж сверх того денег по шти рублей по дватцати по три алтына по две деньги, по девяти батманов меду на год, а та де вотчина, бортной ухожей и звериные, и рыбные ловли написаны в Казани в прежних ясашных книгах после Казанскаго взятья в первых летех. А у него де Акешки Доскеева с товарищи на ту вотчину до Казанскаго взятья, как в Казани был татарский царь и тое де вотчину дал владеть деду ево Доскеку Белякову и дал жалованную грамоту, и та де грамота татарская у него Акешки. А ныне де тою вотчиною владеют Уфимскаго уезда Осинской дороги Ирехтиды Каракуска Анакеев с товарищи четвертый год насильством своим и ясаку не платят и нам великому государю пожаловати б их велеть им тою вотчиною владеть попрежнему и по нашему великаго государя указу послана наша великаго государя грамота на Уфу к стольнику нашему и воеводе к Венедикту Хитрово: велено против челобитья розыскать кто тою вотчиною владел истари и указ учинить а буде о чем доведется в Казани справится и отом в Казань писать, а буде иреттинцом доведется тою вотчиною не владеть, и им владеть не велеть. Да 187-м году били челом нам великому государю Акешко Доскеев да Мурзакайко Юкачаев с товарищи в прошлых де годех истари даны дедом и отцом их и им по Ику реке по обе стороны вотчины с речки и с озеры и с истоки и на ту вотчину положили татарскаго письма тарханскую грамоту. А по переводу Посолькаго Приказу /

440а перевотчиков Девлеть Абыза Кучюкая Гакаева, в той татарской грамоте написано: Абказы-Сагиб-Гирей хан велел быть в тарханех Шит Ахметь с товарищи семи человекам, и до животов их и до земель, чем они владеют и в воды их никому не вступатся. Писано то письмо 929 году да в памяти рускаго письма написано 7085 году дано на оброк черемисскому сыну новокрещену Гордейку Черемисинову вотчиным бортной ухожей отца ево Бятки деревни за Камою рекою по Ику реке по обе стороны, а оброку велено платить в Казани по батману меду да пошлин пять денег. А по скаске Мурзакайка да Алешки с товарищи новокрещеные Гордейко Черемисинов товарищ их Пленчеку Аламеву брат, отца де их Пленчеков да Гордейков были братья родные, а после де Гордейко остался Гордейков внук родной Игнашка и живет с ними и тою вотчиною владеют вместе. И в 187-м году марта в 16-й день по нашему великаго государя указу послана наша великаго государя грамота к тебе околничему нашему и воеводе к Петру Дмитриевичу. Велено на спорную вотчину, которая в споре уфимских башкирцов с ясашными татары послать дворянина да с ним подъячаго от места добрых и знающих людей, которые те спорные дела вообыче и велеть им тое вотчину против очной ставки и крепостей каковы сысканы на Уфе в съезжей избе и которые подали на Москве у выписке челобитчики списки

досмотря подлинные и по тем крепостям по которым написано из Казани в отписке и розыскать /

440б по родству в правду ненаровя никому и не посегая ни на кого и розвести при старожилых и околных многих людях в правду и владеть башкирскими вотчинами башкирцам, а ясашными вотчинами ясашным татарам, чтоб впред от башкирцов и от ясашных татары спору и челобитен между ими отнюдь не было. И в нынешнем в 188-м году генваря в 19-й писал ты к нам великому государю, что по нашему великаго государя указу и по грамоте послал ты на спорную вотчину иреттинских башкирцов Каракуска Аканаева да ясашных татар Акешки Доскеева с товарищи уфинца Ивана Кирилова сына Калмацкова да приказной избы подъячего Ивана Антропова и велел досмотря подлинные крепости и про родство розыскать имянно в правду ненаровя никому и непосегая ни на ково произвести при сторонних и околных многих людях в правду владеть башкирскими вотчинами башкирцам, а ясашными ясашным татарам и уфинец Иван Калмацкой и подъячей о той спорной вотчине подали сыск. И тот сыск прислал ты к нам великому государю к Москве за моею рукою. А в сыску написано: Уфимскаго уезду разных деревень и волостей башкирцов и чюваша и черемиса сто дватцать один человек сказали по своей вере по шерти, что де о которой вотчине у уфимских башкирцов у Каракуска Аканаева с товарищи с ясашными татары с Акешкою Доскеевым с товарищи спор и та /

441а вотчина Акешкова с товарищи, а не башкирская, и владели изстари деды и отцы их Акешков с товарищи ево, а после оных де реттинских башкирцов вотчины по реке Ику нет, и не знают, а которые люди написаны в выписке с казанских книг и выписках с крепостей, каковы подали на Москве к выписке и те люди Акешку и товарищам ево родственники, и Акешка с товарищи на ту спорную вотчину положили подлинные крепости, а в подлинных крепостях написано: то ж, что и в списках, каковы поданы на Москве в Приказе Казанскаго Дворца, а башкирцы Каракуска Юканаев с товарищи на ту спорную вотчину крепостей никаких не положили. И ныне по нашему великаго государя указу велено Уфимскаго уезда Казанской гороги деревни Мушиги ясашным татарам Акешке Доскееву да Мурзакайку Юкичееву да новокрещену Данилку Иванову с товарищи тою спорною вотчиною по Ике реке, которою владели отцы их и они по крепостям 929-го и 7087-го годов владеть им попрежнему. Да и потому им тою вотчиною владеть на Уфе в ясашных книгах та вотчина написана за ними ж. И в сыску обыскные люди сказали, что та вотчина их Акешкова с товарищи, а не башкирская, и уфимским башкирцом Каракуске Аканаеву с товарищи в той вотчине отказать для того, что они на ту вотчину крепостей никаких /

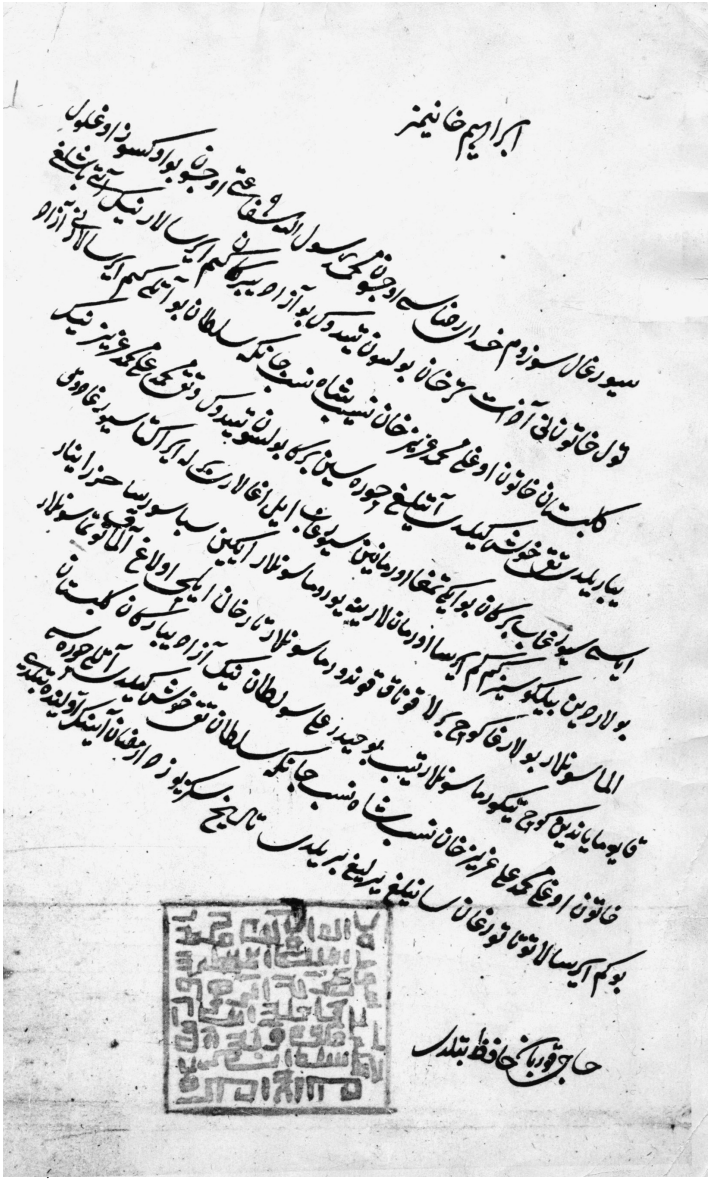
441б не положили и в сыску обыскные люди сказали, что та вотчина, о которой они бьют челом татарская, а не их башкирская, и башкирцам владеть своими угодьи в Уфимском же уезде, где им указана, а ясашным татарам Акешки с товарищи башкирскими угодьи не владеть же. И как тебе сия наша великаго государя грамота придет, и ты б в Уфимской уезд в вотчину ясашных

татар Акешки Доскеева с товарищи, чем владели отцы их, по них послал кого пригоже и велел в той вотчине межи и грани и урочищи и с чьеми вотчинами смежна описать, и описав, все велел им Акешке с товарищи ту вотчину отказать и владеть и ясак платить в нашу великаго государя казну по прежнему чтоб впред от них нам великому государю челобитья не было, да о том к нам великому государю писать и отказные книги прислать и велеть подать в Приказ Казанскаго Дворца боярину нашему князю Михаиле Юрьевичу Долгорукову да думному нашему дворянину Ивану Афанасьевичу Желабужскому да дьяком /

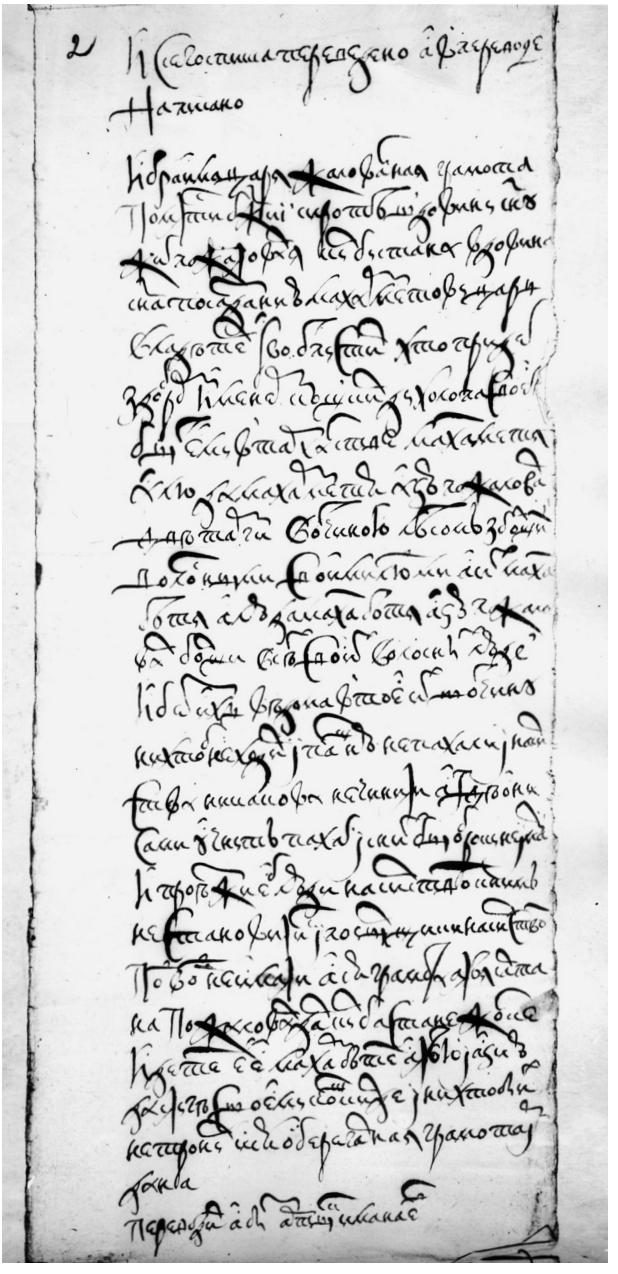
442a нашим думному Афонасью Зыкову, Тимофею Литвинову, Леонтью Меншову, Василью Посникову, а прочесть сию нашу великаго государя грамоту и велел с нее списать список оставить на Уфе в приказной избе за своею рукою, а подлинную отдать Акешки с товарищи впредь для спору. Писан на Москве лета 7188-го года февраля в 26-й день. Подлинную грамоту писал Матюшка Томановской, подлинную скрепил думной Василий Посников.

Сия копия с данной нам на владение земли грамоты списана и верна так точно как и подлинная. В том и удостоверяем, а имянно деревни Аймановой Гадыльша Субанаев — в том и приложил свою тамгу деревни Мушуги Ильметев Усызюбеир Масягутов , и Сасыбурун Габдул халик Яхиев по-татарски подписаля. عبدولخالیق یحی قولوم قو یدوم *

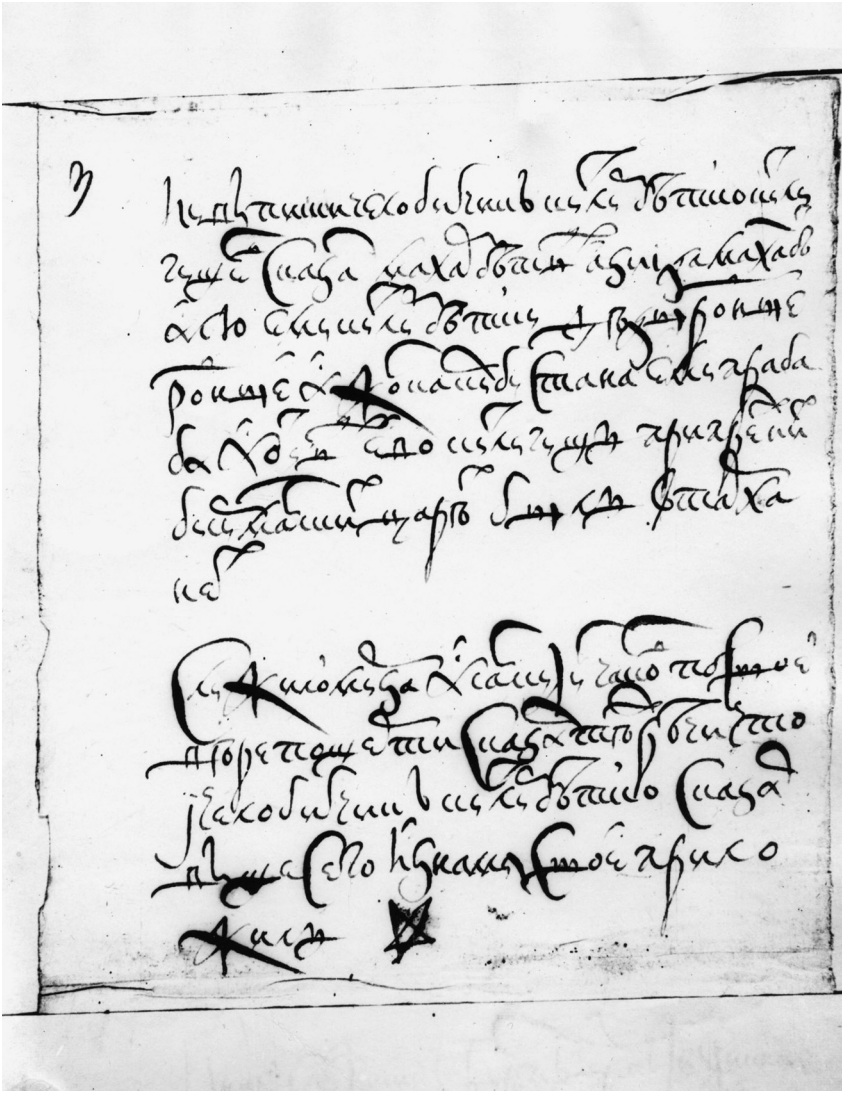
* *ʿAbdulḫalïq Yaḥī oġlï qolum qoydum* "(I) ʿA. son of Y. put my signature."



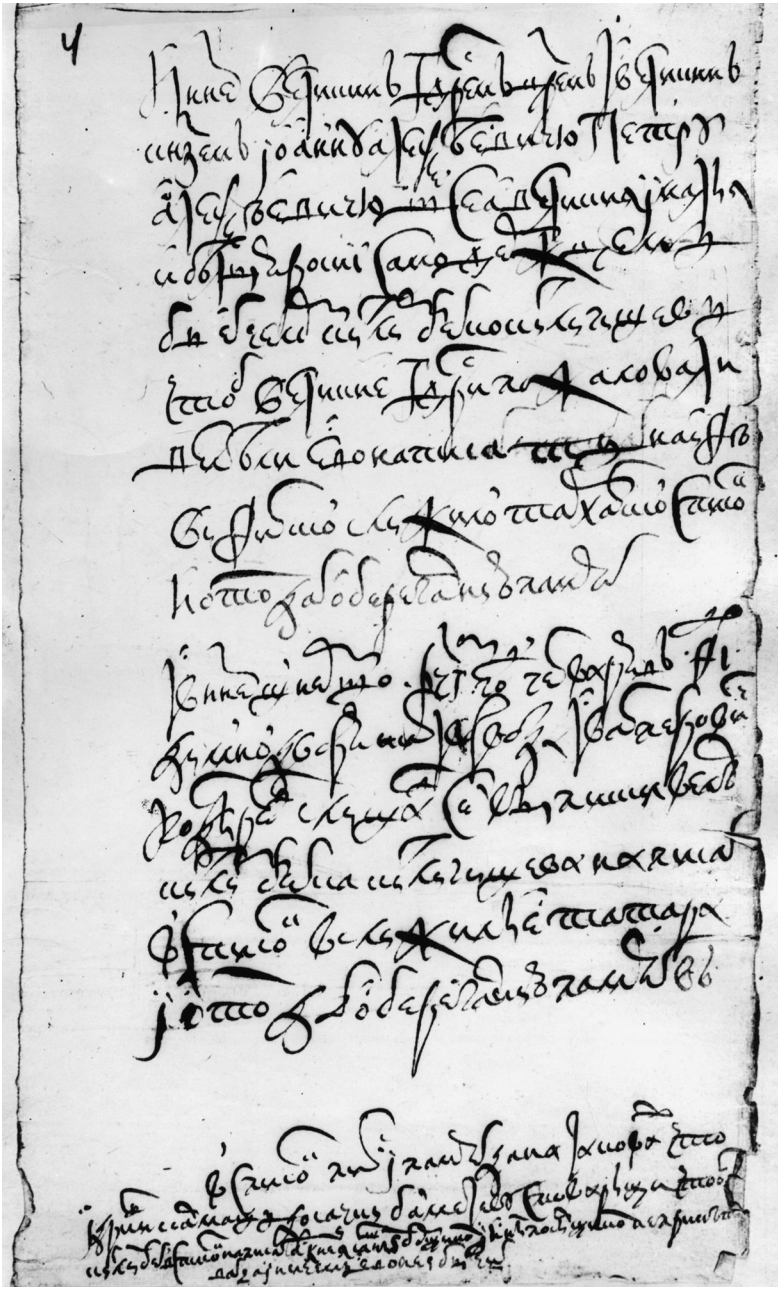
1. Ibrāhīm ḫān's Edict of 1467–79.



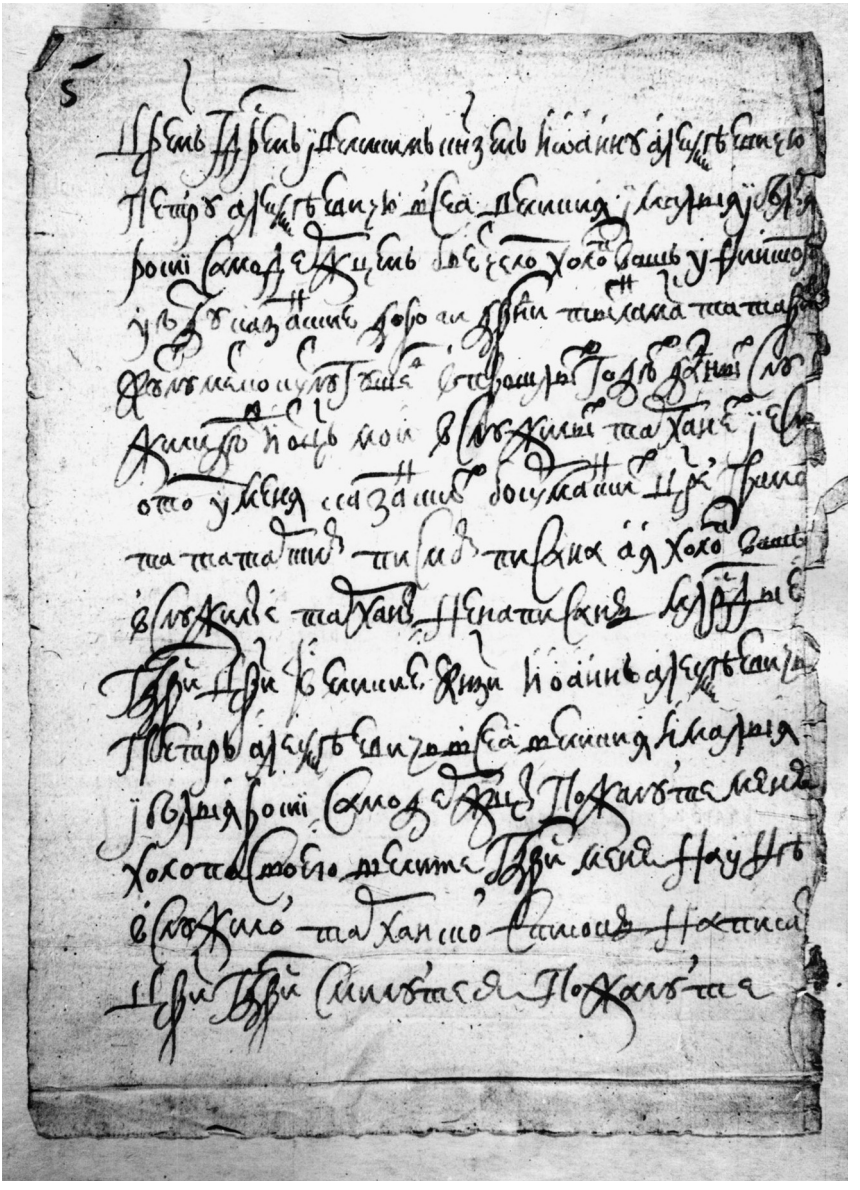
2. CGADA, fond 1173, opis' 1, ed. chr. 196, f. 2.



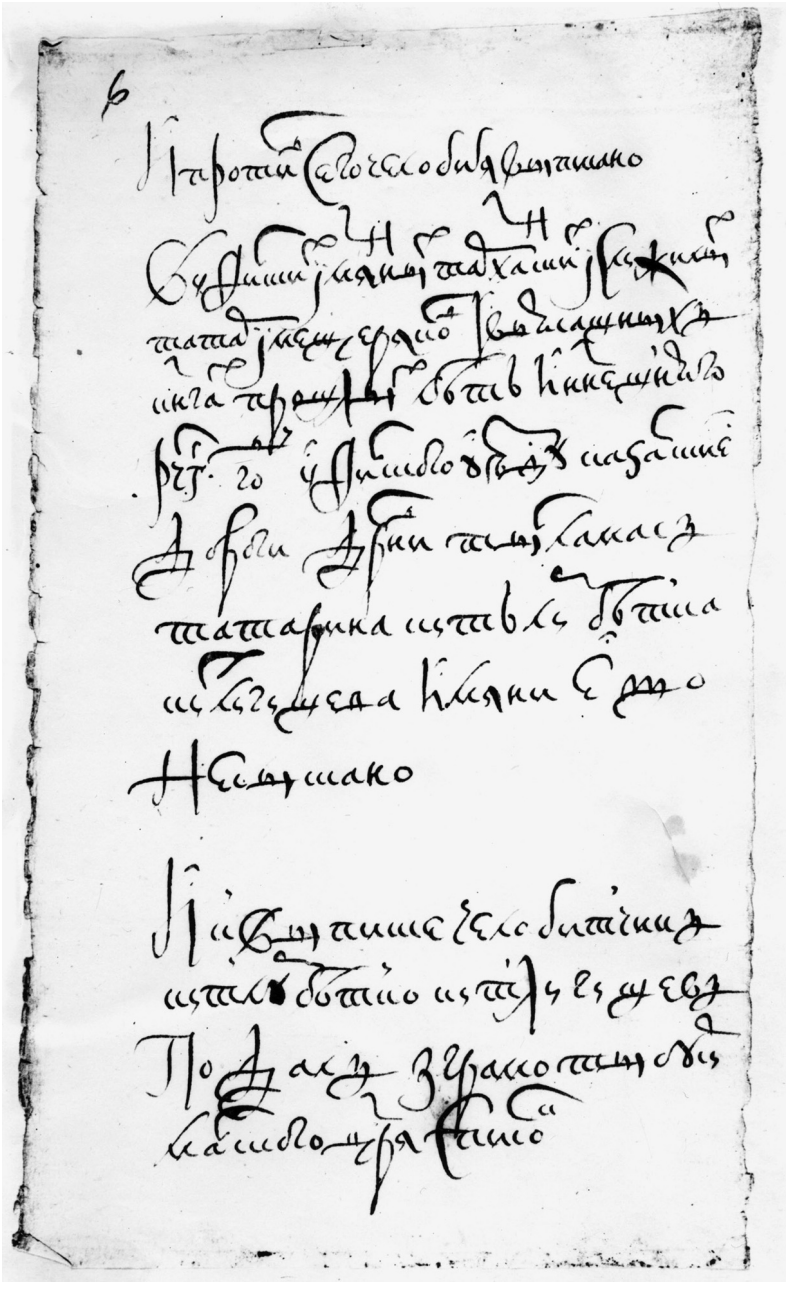
3. CGADA, fond 1173, opis' 1, ed. chr. 196, f. 3.



4. CGADA, fond 1173, opis' 1, ed. chr. 196, f. 4.

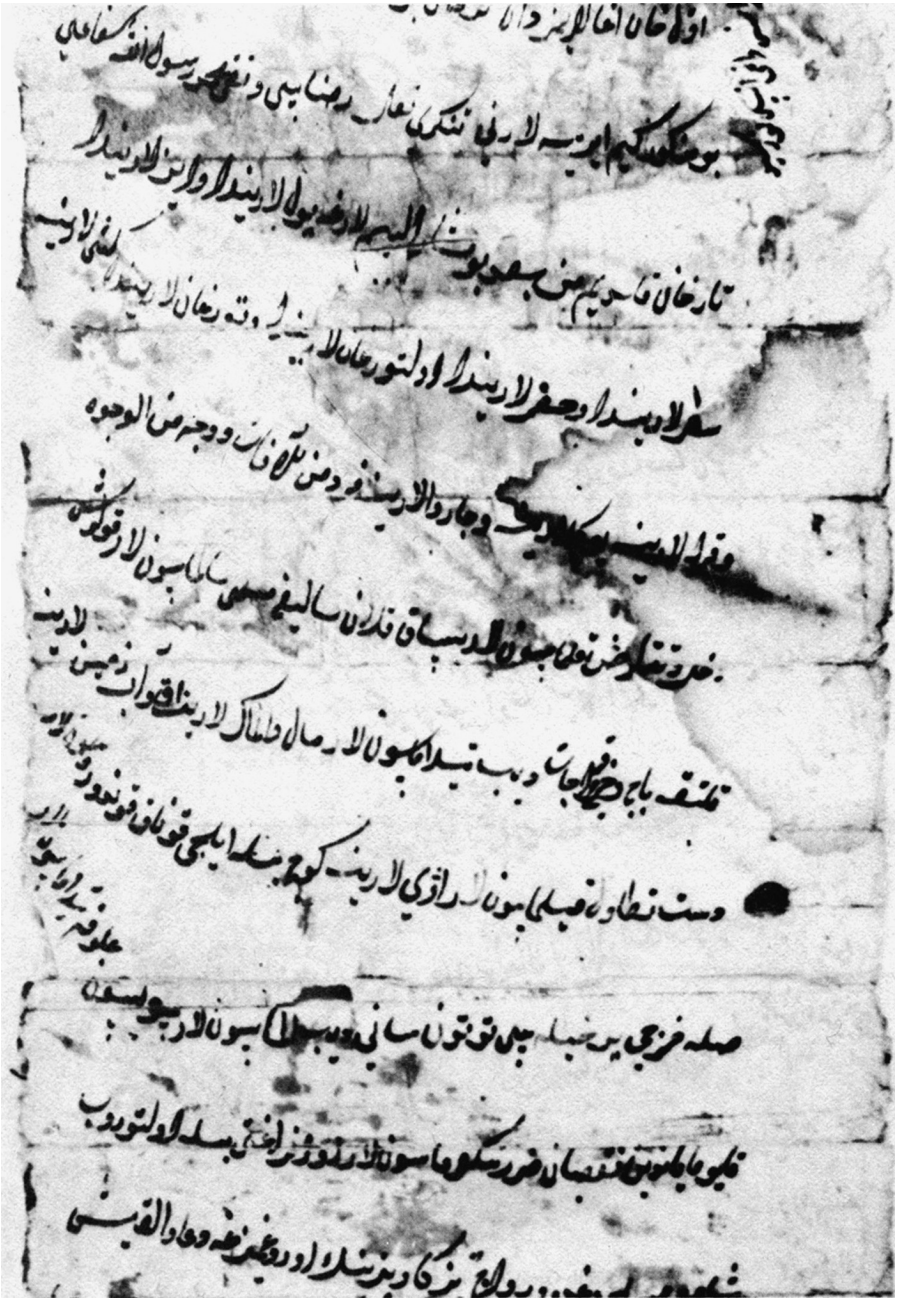


5. CGADA, fond 1173, opis' 1, ed. chr. 196, f. 5.



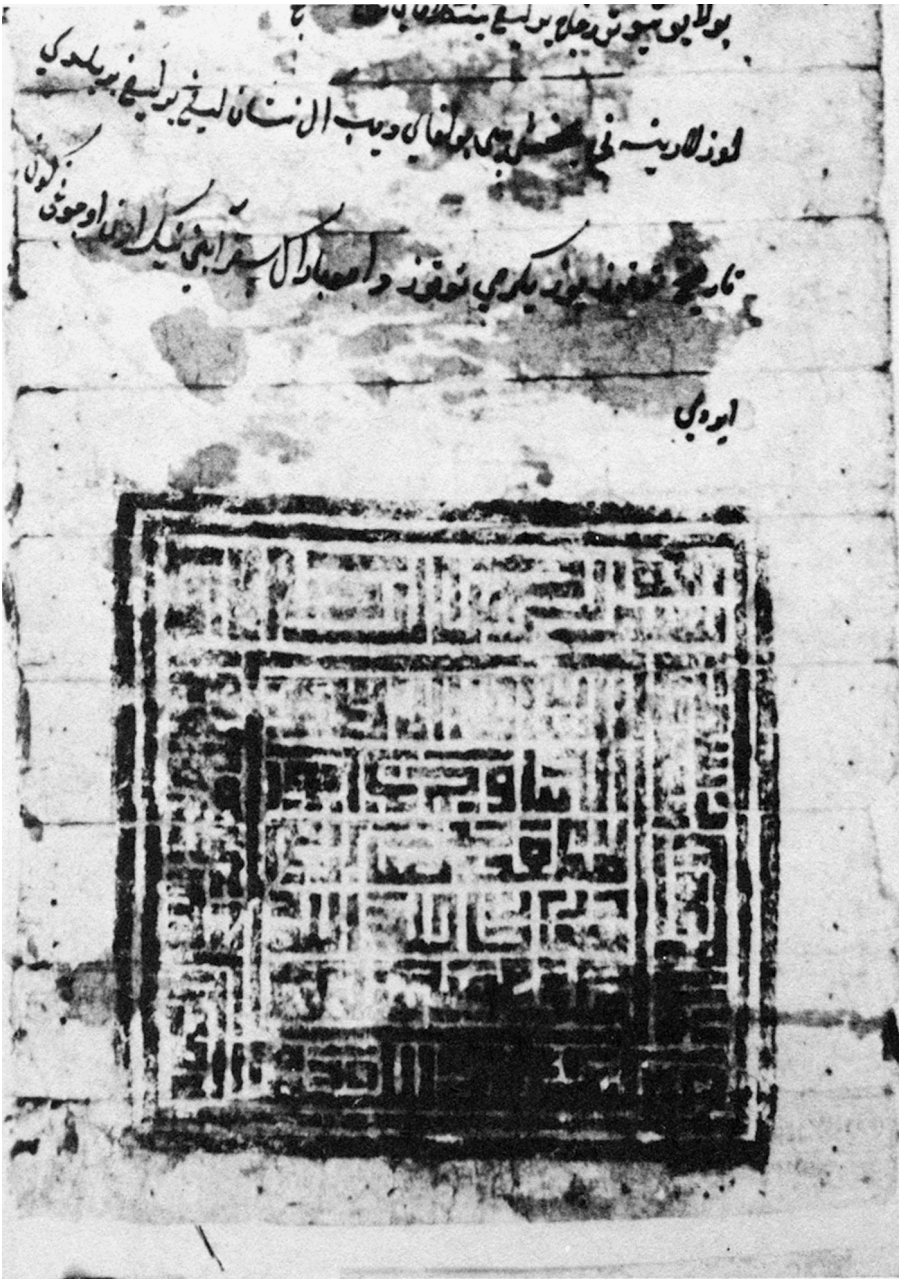
6. CGADA, fond 1173, opis' 1, ed. chr. 196, f. 6.

7. Ṣāḥib Giräy's Edict of 1523, lines 1–9.



8. Ṣāḥib Girāy's Edict of 1523, lines 9–17.

9. Ṣāḥib Giräy's Edict of 1523, lines 17–23.



10. Ṣâḥib Giräy's Edict of 1523, the seal.

XVI

Orthodox Christian Qumans and Tatars of the Crimea in the 13th–14th centuries*

Christianity has had deep roots in the Crimea. Beginning from the third century A. D. it spread to the southern towns of the peninsula, especially in the Greek colonies. Being an organic part of the Byzantine Empire the territory of the Crimea was also organized in the ecclesiastical respect. An interesting presentation of the Byzantine eparchies in the 8th century (more precisely in the years 733–746) can be found in a Greek manuscript.[1] At that time, the Crimea was divided into four autocephalous eparchies, namely those of Bosporos (later Russian *Kerč'*), Sugdaia, Khersonés (later Russian *Korsun'*), and Dóros. The latter eparchy, also called ἐπαρχία Γοτθίας in Greek, consisted of seven episcopates, among others a separate eparchy was established for the Huns and Onogurs.[2] This fact clearly demonstrates that the Byzantine Church pursued lively missionary activity among the nomadic peoples who constantly flowed from the east to the steppe region of the Crimea. Christianity found supporters among the Huns, Onogur-

* I am indebted to the MTA-Soros Foundation for support which made this study possible.

1 Ju. Kulakovskij, "K istorii gotskoj eparhii (v Krymu) v VIII. veke", *ŽMNP* 315, fev. 1898, pp. 173–202; V. A. Mošin, "Ἐπαρχία Γοτθίας v Hazarii v VIII-m veke", in: *Trudy S"ezda Russkih akademičeskih organizacij za granicej* I, Belgrad, 1929, pp. 149–156.

2 For a detailed analysis of the "eparchy of Gothia" see Gy. Moravcsik, "A honfoglalás előtti magyarság és a kereszténység" [Hungarians of the preconquest period and Christianity], in: *Szent István Emlékkönyv* I, Budapest, 1938, pp. 197–206; idem, "Byzantinische Mission im Kreise der Türkvölker an der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres", in: *The Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, London-New-York-Toronto, 1967, pp. 15–28.

Bulgars, Khazars, Pechenegs, and Qumans. Although the fact of the Byzantine mission in the Crimea has long been known, concrete data to fill in the general scheme were rather sparse. In view of this sparsity it may seem strange that practically no attention has been paid to such a valuable and trustworthy Byzantine source of the 13th–14th centuries as the synaxarion of Sudaq. On the margins of the synaxarion (collection of saints' lives) of the Crimean town of Sudaq, various notes on historical and family events were put down by different hands. These notes of the Sudaq synaxarion were published more than hundred years ago in the *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* by Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin,[3] but this material has practically remained untapped by historians. B. Spuler utilized its data to some extent in his standard monograph on the Golden Horde, but B. Grekov and A. Jakubovskij were seemingly ignorant of its existence, as their bibliography does not contain this item.[4] My main object in this paper is to reintroduce the above-mentioned source into historical scholarship by highlighting one aspect of its evaluation.[5] But before bending to the task proper, I deem it necessary to pronounce a few words on the historical background in which the notes of the Sudaq synaxarion have come about. In other words, I shall try to give a short outline of the history of Sudaq in the first two centuries of the Mongolo-Tatar dominion and trace the historical fates of the Turkic population in the Crimea at that time.[6]

The town of Sudaq was founded by Alans and Greeks according to local tradition in 212 A.D. The name of the town (Greek Σουγ-

3 Arhimandrit Antonin, "Zametki XII-XV veka, otnosjaščiesja k Krymskomu gorodu Sugdee (Sudaku), pripisannye na grečeskom Sinakaksare", *ZOOID* V, 1863, pp. 595–628. – A new edition of this material would be desirable, but the original manuscript preserved in Khalké seems to have got lost. My efforts to find it have been unsuccessful. Mr. Ja. R. Daškevič, of L'vov, has kindly informed me that he was also unsuccessful to find traces of the manuscript.

4 B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland 1223–1502*, Wiesbaden, 1965² (1st ed.: Leipzig, 1943); B. D. Grekov–A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie*, Moskva–Leningrad, 1950.

5 Other aspects will be expounded in another article entitled "Turcological bearings of the Sudaq synaxarion" (to be published probably in *AOH*).

6 On the history of Sudaq see V. Jurgevič, *ZOOID* V, 1863, p. 831, n. 118; V. V. Bartol'd, "Sugdak", in: *Sočinenija* III, Moskva, 1965, pp. 489–490; S. A. Sekirinskij, *Očerki istorii Suroža*, Simferopol', 1955.

δαία, Italian *Soldaia*, Old-Russian *Surož'*) is of Iranian origin.[7] In the 12th–13th centuries, Sudaq played an important role in the international trade of the Mediterranean world. Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 1232) called Sudaq the town of the Qïpčaqs,[8] and Idrīsī, the Arab geographer of the 12th century claimed that Qumania, i.e. the land of the Qumans also spread to the Crimea.[9] Ibn al-Aṯīr's statement that Sudaq was a town of the Qïpčaqs must be interpreted that the town was subject to the Qïpčaq/Quman nomads who regularly collected taxes from the town-dwellers.[10] William Rubruck, who personally visited the town in 1253, gave a vivid description of its trade activities: „... *Soldaia, que ex transverso respicit Sinopolim, et illuc applicant omnes mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras aquilonares, et e converso venientes de Roscia et terris aquilonaribus volentes transire in Turkiam. Isti portant varium et grisium et alias pelles pretiosas, alii portant telas de cotone sive wambasio et pannos sericos et species aromaticas*".[11] The basic component of Sudaq's inhabitants was obviously Greek, but due to the wide-ranging mercantile activities of the town merchants of other nationalities such as Alans, Qumans, Armenians, Jews, Arabs, and Persians must well have appeared. According to A. Jakubovskij's opinion concerning Ibn al-Aṯīr's account, the Qumans must have been exclusively engaged in collecting taxes from the town-dwellers.[12] This supposition cannot be corroborated by other data, similarly to another supposition according to which the Qumans must have also settled in large numbers in the town. Nevertheless, the two possibilities do not

7 For the interrelation of the different forms and the etymology see M. Fasmer, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka* III, Moskva, 1971, pp. 795 and 807–808 (under *Sudák*, and *Súrož'*), and K. G. Menges, *Vostočnye èlementy v «Slove o polku Igoreve»*, Leningrad, 1979, pp. 132–136.

8 Ibn al-Aṯīr, in V. G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov otnosjaščihsja k istorii Zolotoj ordy* I, St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 26; also in the Turkish edition of Tizengauzen's work: *Altınordu devleti tarihine ait metinler*, Türkçeye çeviren İ. H. İzmirli, İstanbul, 1941, pp. 55–56.

9 A. Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi* II, Paris, 1836–1840, pp. 399–401. – For the Crimean Qumans see also O. Pritsak, "The Polovcians and Rus'", *AEMAe* II, 1982, pp. 359, 371.

10 Grekov–Jakubovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31.

11 A. van Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* I, Quaracchi–Firenze, 1929, p. 166.

12 See above, n. 10.

exclude each other. So far, so good. That is all one can briefly recount of Sudaq prior to the Mongol invasion.

The first Mongol attack fell on Sudaq in 1223 within the framework of the Western campaign of the famous Mongol commanders Jebe and Sübetei.[13] The exact date of the appearance of Italian merchants in the town is not known, but their massive settlement took place in the 13th century. The Venetians must have founded their workshops in Sudaq in the middle of the 13th century, and in 1287 they had their own consul. The Venetian merchants Nicolo and Matteo Polo arrived here from Constantinople, and Nicolo's son, the famous Marco Polo had a house in Soldaia (i. e. Sudaq) which he bequeathed to the local Franciscan monks in his will of 1280.[14] The riches of the prosperous trading centre strongly attracted the Tatar lords of the Crimea who often made assaults on the town. In 1298 Nogay, omnipotent lord of the western territories of the Golden Horde, pillaged Sudaq.[15] In 1322 the town was again looted by the Tatars.[16] The frequent Tatar incursions considerably weakened the economic and political strength of the town, and in 1365 Sudaq fell into the hands of the Genoans of Kaffa. The Genoan rule soon became firm in Sudaq, the outer appearance of which was the erection of a massive fortress in 1385–1414. Its impressive ruins have been preserved to our days.[17] At the head of Genoan Soldaia a special consul was appointed to that post in the mother-town Kaffa.[18] In the shade of Kaffa, Sudaq irrevocably became an insignificant small town of the Black Sea region. After the Ottoman capture of Kaffa in 1475, all the Crimean dominions of Genoa, including Sudaq, fell into the hands of the Turkish conquerors.

13 Ibn al-Aṯīr, and other Oriental historians report on this event (Abū'l-fidā, Mīrḫond, Ḫondemīr), cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Rußland*, Pesth, 1840, p. 87; Spuler, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Grekov–Jakubovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

14 *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* I, Ed. by H. Yule and H. Cordier, London, 1929, pp. 2, 4.

15 Mufaḍḍal, in: Tizengauzen, *op. cit.* I, p. 195.

16 Spuler, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

17 See V. Jurgevič, *ZOOID* V, 1863, p. 831, n. 118; Yule – Cordier, *op. cit.* I, p. 3.

18 For the statute of Sudaq in 1449 see V. Jurgevič, "Ustav dlja genuézskih kolonij v Černom more izdannyj v Genue v 1449 godu", *ZOOID* V, 1863, pp. 766–783.

As was indicated earlier, in addition to the basic Greek inhabitants of Sudaq, and other minor ethnic elements, from the beginning of the 13th century, one may reckon with a certain number of Quman inhabitants as well. The synaxarion of Sudaq will be very instrumental in proving that a Turkic ethnic element was present in Sudaq in the 13th–14th centuries, moreover some of these Turks were converted to Orthodox Christianity and intermingled with the native Greeks. The notes of the synaxarion begin with the year 1186, and the last note was written in it in 1419. Archimandrite Antonin published 194 items of notes, the majority of which can be exactly dated. One note was written in the 12th century, and three notes come from the 15th century, consequently the overwhelming majority of the notes derive from the 13th–14th centuries. The years from 1260 to 1350 are particularly abundant in notes. In that period each year has one or more notes, most of which contain items of information concerning the death of single town-dwellers. Among the deceased a large number of church dignitaries can be found (priests, monks, and friars, etc.). This fact may give us a hint that the scribes or persons who made these notes must have been clerics or at least have had strong church affiliations. The names of the persons mentioned in the notes are for the most part of Greek origin. But, in addition to the Greek names and sobriquets there are some 70 names in the notes, which are evidently of non-Greek origin. Out of these names, some 30 are of Turkic origin, and a further 10 names can also be derived from Turkic with a varying degree of probability. The remaining names require further investigation, they may be of Iranian (Alan?) and Armenian (?) origin. Be that as it may, the main conclusion for our purposes is that the greater part of the non-Greek names can be explained from Turkic. A detailed linguistic analysis of these Turkic names will be expounded in a separate article,[19] this time I shall only enumerate the names, then proceed to the historical conclusions lying therein. The Turkic names of the synaxarion of Sudaq are as follows: *Aba, Abïčqa, Abqa, Alačï, Alačuq, Alp-ata, Aqsamas, Arap, Baġalïn, Baraq, Bavčï, Čaqa, Čočaq, Ärsimän, It-mängü, Qaruqan, Qïlič, Qutlu-bey, Qutluġ, Mäläk, Muġal, Oraqčï, Saliḫ, Sarï-sapar, Soṅġur/Sunqur, Sultan, Tat-qara,*

19 See above, n. 5.

Toq-tämir, Türkmän, Yamġurči.[20] All these names can well be explained from Turkic, some of them were attested already in the pre-Mongol period. Three names can be derived from ethnonyms *(Arap, Muġal, Türkmän)*, the ethnonym *Muġal* could not come into being prior to the 13th century. Three names, *Baġalïn, Alačï*, and *Abqa* ultimately go back to Mongol names (Mong. *Bayalun, Alači, Abaqa*),[21] but the first appears here in Turkic phonetic garb, and the other two names may equally be explained as Turkic names of Mongolian origin. Consequently these names could also enter into Turkic in the 13th century. Three names *(Mäläk, Saliḫ, Sultan)* came from Turkic words having their origins in Arabic.

The first question raised by the above material sounds like this: who were the bearers of these names? As is well known, the origin of a personal name does not contain a direct hint as to the language of its bearer. So in our case too, the Turkic names themselves do not guarantee that their bearers spoke a Turkic idiom as their mother-tongue. In principle, there are two possibilities for explaining the nationality of the citizens of Sudaq having Turkic names in Greek-Orthodox surroundings: 1. they were Greeks having Turkic names (or rather sobriquets), 2. they were Turks who became Christians in the Greek Church. It must be noted here that the occurrence of both possibilities in one community does not exclude each other. Yet I think that the latter possibility may be corroborated with sounder proof than the first one. Though a considerable Turkic layer of anthroponyms can be attested among the Armenians of the Crimea and the Ukraine in the 14th–15th centuries,[22] the same process of adopting Turkic names cannot be atte-

20 The numbers in brackets refer to the number of items in Archimandrite Antonin's edition: ἀμπα (78), ἀπατζκὰ (117), απκά (7), and απόχα (131), ἀλάτζη (136) αλατζη (147)/ἀλάτζη (183)/αλατζ(ὸυ) (98), ἀλατζοῦκ (48), ἀλπατὰ (183), ἀκσᾶμὰς (174), ἀράπης (149), παγαλν (70), παράκ (78, 155), παυτζὴ (192), τζακὰ (138), τζοτζάχει (91)/τζατζακι (93)/τζοτζάκ (129)/τζοτζακ (160), ερσιμὰν (70), ἰτμενκου (115), καρουκάνος (92), κηλήτζ (39), χουτλουπεῖ (96), κουτλουγ (83), μελέκα (58), μοῦγάλλα (114)/μουγάλα (142), ὁραλτζὴ (165), σιαλὶχ (126), σαρρασαπάρ (97), σογγουρ (67), σουγκουρ (126), σολτάν (6), τάτκαρα (9), τοκτεμὴρ (2), τοῦρκμὰν (59), γιαμγουρτζὲ (165).

21 For *Bagalïn* and *Bayalun* see P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris, 1949, pp. 83–85.

22 See the index of L. S. Xačikean, *XV dari hayeren dzeṛagreri hišatakaran-*

sted in an Orthodox Christian environment. Consequently, the adoption of "pagan", i.e. non-Christian names by the Greek citizens of Sudaq cannot be verified. One must bear in mind that an originally heathen name becomes a Christian name only after the canonization of the first Christian bearer of this name. Thus, e.g. the Slavic names Vladimir, Boris and Gleb became fully accepted Orthodox Christian names only after the canonization of Prince Vladimir and the holy brothers Boris and Gleb. If we encounter numerous Turkic names among the Greek Orthodox inhabitants of the town Sudaq, this phenomenon can be best explained by the fact that those Christians having Turkic names were of Turkic descent. One may observe that in several cases the Turkic name was used only as a sobriquet, since each newly converted Christian had to adopt a canonical Christian name. By the way, the same practice is in use in the modern Orthodox and Catholic Churches as well. Thus, e.g. "hyeromonk Sabba, called *Soltan*" (No. 6), "Basileios, called *Türkmän*" (No. 59), "monk Arsenios, called *Alačï*" (No. 136), "monk Ioannikis, called *Arap*" (No. 149), "Paraskevé, called *Baraq*" (No. 155), "Euthymios, called *Aqsaṃas*" (No. 174).[23] Sometimes, the original Turkic name that became a sobriquet, was simply put after the Christian name, as if it were a surname: e.g. "Andronikos *Abqa*" (No. 7), "Thodoro *Qaruqan*" (No. 92), "Ioannés *It-mängü*" (No. 115), "Aleksios *Alačï*" (No. 147), "Démétrios *Čočaq*" (Nos. 129, 160).[24]

If the Christian inhabitants of Sudaq bearing Turkic names and sobriquets were, in all probability, of Turkic descent, it must be examined more clearly what sort of Turks they might have been. There are a few phonetic peculiarities in these Turkic names clearly displaying their Kipchak origins, thus e.g. *-ġm-* in place of *-mġ-* in *Yamġurčï*, *-mas* in place of *-maz* in *Aqsamas*, and *-v-* in place of *-ġ-* in *Bavčï*. On the other hand, most of the anthroponyms without

ner I, Erevan, 1955; Ya. R. Dachkévytch, "Who are Armeno-Kipchaks? On the Ethnical Substrate of the Armenian Colonies in the Ukraine", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* N. S. XVI, 1982, pp. 396–399.

23 In the Greek original the following words are used for "called": (ὁ λεγόμενος (Nos. 6, 74, 136), (ἡ) λεγομένη (No. 155), ἐπικληθεὶς (No. 59), ἐπονομαζόμενος (No. 149).

24 The use of the Greek definite article ὁ in certain cases (e.g. Nos. 147, 160, etc.) clearly displays the intermediate stage of development: X (Greek name) called Y (Turkic name) → X ὁ Y → XY.

particular phonetic criteria were widely used in the Kipchak linguistic environment in the 13th–14th centuries, some of them were typically fashionable names, such as *Qïlïč, Toq-tämir*, etc.[25] Since Quman/Qïpčaq presence can be pointed out in Sudaq in both the pre-Mongol period and after, the bearers of these Turkic names in Sudaq must have been Qumans. This conclusion is all the more interesting since much has been written on the Western Catholic mission among the Qumans and Tatars in the 13th–14th centuries,[26] but little attention has been paid to the conversion to Orthodoxy of the Qumans in that period.[27] Naturally, certain cases were known, especially in the Quman-Russian relationship, when single persons embraced Orthodox Christianity. E.g. the Quman prince Bastï was baptized in 1224.[28] Or, Plano Carpini mentions a certain Christian Quman called Songur, whom he saw in the camp of Batu Khan as a member of the retinue of the Russian prince Aleksandr Jaroslavič.[29] In addition to these sporadic conversions to Orthodoxy, the establishment of a Russian episcopal see in Saray, capital of the Golden Horde and the activity of the Russian Church under the Tatar dominion have also been thoroughly studied in scholarly literature.[30] But the Byzantine mission in the Crimea in the course of the 13th–14th centuries has practically remained wrapped in darkness. The Sudaq synaxarion testifies to a massive spread of Orthodox Christianity among the Turkic inhabitants of the town. It was just in the same time span, i.e.

25 For the Qïpčaq names of this period see M. Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden, 1894, pp. 28–35; J. Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks", *JA* CCXXXVIII, 1950, pp. 31–58.

26 See e.g. B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermission des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Habelschwerdt, 1924; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* I–V, Quaracchi–Firenze, 1906–1927; L. Lemmens, *Die Heidenmissionen des Spätmittelalters*, Münster in Westf., 1919; G. Soranzo, *Il papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, Milano, 1930.

27 See A.-D. v. den Brincken, *Die „Nationes Christianorum Orientalium" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Köln–Wien, 1973, pp. 131–136; Ya. R. Dachkévytch, *op. cit.*, pp. 379–380.

28 "... *togda ze velikyi kn(ja)z' Poloveckyi kr(es)tisja Basty.*" (*Polnoe sobranie russkih letopisej* II[2], Sankt-Petersburg, 1908, p. 741).

29 Wyngaert, *op. cit.* I, p. 128.

30 See M. L. Polubojarinova, *Russkie ljudi v Zolotoj Orde*, Moskva, 1978, pp. 22–34.

between 1260 and 1350, when the notes on Orthodox Qumans crop up in the Sudaq synaxarion, that the Catholic missions, especially the Franciscan missionary activities gained ground in the towns of the Crimea. The famous Codex Cumanicus, at least its first version, must have been compiled at the end of the 13th century, most probably in Genoan Kaffa, and its present unique copy preserved in Venice, was put down and complemented by different hands in the 1330s.[31] The second part of the work, most appropriately called the "Book of the Missionaries"[32] can be directly linked with the Catholic missions in the Black Sea region. If the lively activity of Catholic missionaries gave an impetus to the compilation of the Codex Cumanicus, one of the most important linguistic and historic monuments of the Qumans, one may safely assume that the Orthodox mission, the presence of which has been proved in Sudaq, also brought about works similar to the Codex Cumanicus, but written in the Greek alphabet. Therefore, it is not hopeless to search for a Greek-letter monument of the Crimean Qïpčaq dialects among the Byzantine manuscripts scattered all over the world.

In connection with the Orthodox Qumans of Sudaq, one more question emerges. Are we to exclude the possibility that in the Mongol period Tatars might also have embraced Orthodoxy? Namely, in the Sudaq synaxarion there are two notes referring to Christian Tatars. On March 26, 1275 "the servant of God Paraskevé, a Christian Tatar died",[33] and in the following year, in 1276, on March 13 "the servant of God Ióannés, a Christian Tatar died".[34] Probably these notes convinced Gy. Moravcsik that the bearers of all non-Greek names must have been Christian Tatars.[35] This unification of the non-Greek elements under the general de-

31 See D. Drüll, *Der Codex Cumanicus. Entstehung und Bedeutung*, Stuttgart, 1980, especially pp. 132–137.

32 See L. Ligeti, "Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus", *AOH* XXXV/I, 1981, pp. 51–53.

33 No. 82. In the Greek original: τατάρϊσσα χριστι(ανὴ).

34 No. 68. In the Greek original: χριστ τατρ (abbreviation of χριστιανὸς τατάρος).

35 "christianisierter Tatare" or "christianisierte Tatarin". He attributed these designations to all non-Greek names of the Sudaq synaxarion (see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II^2, Berlin, 1958, under the proper entries).

signation *Tatar* cannot be approved of, since the term *Tatar* in the 13th–14th centuries and even after was used rather vaguely. The establishment of the ethnic realities underlying the terms *Quman*, *Qïpčaq*, and *Tatar* is not an easy task.[36] Their exact meanings heavily depend on the place and time of their occurrences. Originally the term *Tatar* was used to designate the Mongol conquerors of Eastern Europe, but soon it was also applied to the subjugated peoples as a political term. Thus, the term *Tatar* became a rather general and loose connotation for all peoples of the Golden Horde: Qumans, Alans, Cherkess, and all other subject peoples may have appeared in the sources as Tatars. It was evident that the first generations of Qumans and Qïpčaqs under the Tatar yoke of the Golden Horde were Qumans and Qïpčaqs, they spoke these Turkic idioms, and only "politically" were considered Tatars. This can clearly be seen from a note of the Sudaq synaxarion (March 28, 1278) in which the following event is related: "... Saliḫ and Sunqur and all the others were killed by the Tatars".[37] Here, Saliḫ and Sunqur and their companions whose names refer to the Turkic descent of their bearers, are opposed to the Tatars, i. e. the Mongol conquerors. In the 14th century the term *Tatar* was not only used in the political sense, but it also came to mean the nationality and language of the Qumans. The terms *Quman* and *Tatar* for a long time lived side by side, until in the second half of the 14th century the term Quman finally disappeared. The use of these terms in the Codex Cumanicus is very instructive in this respect: at the beginning of the first part the Turkic idiom of the trilingual glossary is called *comanicum* in Latin, whereas in the second part of the Codex the expressions *tatar til* "Tatar language" and *tatarča* "in Tatar" occur.[38] Obviously both terms refer to the same Qïpčaq language, though multifarious dialectal differences can be detected in the Codex. As far as I know the *Quman* language was

36 Although there are many dark spots in the ethnic history of the Black Sea region in the 13th–14th centuries, Ya. R. Daškevič's extremist view (*op. cit.*, pp. 371–378) that the Qumans "had completely disappeared from the historical arena" (p. 372) must surely be discarded.

37 In the Greek text: σιαλὶχ κ(αὶ) σουνκουρ.

38 G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum*, Budapestini, 1880, pp. 1, 229, 161; K. Grönbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Kopenhagen, 1942, p. 237.

mentioned in written sources for the last time in 1338, in a letter of the Franciscan missionary Paschalis de Victoria. Staying in Saray, the capital of the Golden Horde, he decided to study the Quman language and the Uyghur script before setting out for his missionary trip. As he himself put it: "... *prius volui linguam terrae illius addiscere, et per Dei gratiam didici linguam camanicam et litteram viguricam, ...*".[39] So, in the 1330s the contemporaries were well aware of the fact that the subjects of the Golden Horde spoke a Turkic idiom that was identical with or at least very close to the Quman tongue. It was in the second half of the 14th century that the *Quman* language finally became *Tatar* language, i. e. the term *Quman* was irrevocably replaced by the term *Tatar*.

After this short diversion on terminological questions, we may turn back to the data of the Sudaq synaxarion concerning the Tatars. Unfortunately, Christian citizens of Sudaq who were of Tatar extraction bore Greek Christian names (Ióannés and Paraskevé) without any hint to their former "pagan" name. Therefore it is almost impossible to determine their ethnic character: were they Mongolophone or Turcophone Tatars before their conversion? At any rate, the fact that the ethnonym *Tatar* crops up in the Sudaq synaxarion some thirty years after the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe, and anthroponyms of Mongol origin can also be pointed out among the non-Greek names of the same monument *(Baġalïn, Alačï, Abaqa/Abqa)*, may indicate that the presence of Mongol ethnic elements in Sudaq must also be reckoned with. But it is more plausible that the small number of possible Mongol names can be explained in another way: Mongol names soon became very fashionable in the Turcophone environment of the Golden Horde. Unlike between Christian Greeks and Turks, there were no cultural and religious barriers between Turks and Mongols that could have hindered the spread of fashion names in both directions. Be that as it may, the Orthodox Qumans of Sudaq must have totally mingled with the Greek population by the second half of the 14th century, and lost their Turkic mother tongue. As a matter of fact, the process of their grecification may have begun much earlier. Grecophone Qumans may be concealed under the Turkic names. It cannot be decided with any certainty whether

39 Wyngaert, *op. cit.* I, p. 503.

the Christians of Sudaq having Turkic names were bilingual (Greek + Turkic) or they totally lost their Turkic mother tongue. In any case, the final result was indisputable. After the 1330s, during the reign of Özbek Khan, Islam gained firm ground in the territory of the Golden Horde. After Özbek's death in 1342, during the reign of his son, Jānibek Khan, Christian mission, both in its Catholic and Orthodox forms, practically ceased. Consequently, Christianity was pushed back to its initial surroundings in the Crimea: Orthodoxy to the Greek town-dwellers, Catholic Church to the Italian settlers of the peninsula. Owing to this process, religious and ethnic boundaries became stiffened: Muslim and Turk, Orthodox and Greek (or Russian) became inseparable. To be Orthodox and retain one's Turkic descent became unimaginable at that time. Whether of Greek extraction or of Turkic descent, all Orthodox Christians of Sudaq became absorbed in the Greek Church and culture.

The above short analysis of the notes of the Sudaq synaxarion revealed the obverse of the complicated ethnogenetic process described by Geórgios Pachymerés, Byzantine historian of the 13th century, in the following manner: "... the Alans, Cherkess (Zikchoi), Goths, Rus and other adjacent peoples have merged with them [i.e. the Tatars], adopted their customs, changed their own language and garments, and became their [i.e. the Tatars'] allies".[40]

40 Pachymerés V/4: "... 'Αλανοὶ ..., Ζίκχοι, Γότθοι καὶ 'Ρὼς καὶ τὰ προσοικοῦντα τούτοις διάφορα γένη, ἔθη τε τὰ ἐκείνων μανθάνουσι καὶ γλῶτταν τῷ ἔθει μεταλαμβάνουσι καὶ στολήν, καὶ εἰς συμμάχους αὐτοῖς γίνονται." (Georges Pachyméres, *Relations historiques*. Édition et notes par A. Failler, traduction française par V. Laurent, Paris, 1984, tome II, p. 445.)

XVII

"HISTORY AND LEGEND" IN BERKE KHAN'S CONVERSION TO ISLAM

History, as handed down tradition in oral and literary records, has always been interpreted by contemporary and later generations, so that there are only a few facts, if any, that can be understood without a proper knowledge of the age in which they had been recorded. If historical tradition is set in its proper cultural context and evaluated accordingly, each layer of the tradition can gain its proper meaning. Legendary presentation of events is quite common to both Christian and Muslim medieval historiographies, but this does not preclude that important knowledge can be derived from these sources. The age of positivism tended to undervalue and belittle the significance of these legendary presentations as it stuck to the belief in the existence of bare facts, independent of time and space. The great W. Barthold writes as follows: "The Osmanlis alone of all Turkish peoples have acquired the ability to discriminate between the historical and legendary...Naturally the information regarding the history of the Mongols, which was taken by the historians from Mongol and Uighur sources, has a purely legendary character".[1] Legends are part of history too, and I would be less severe in judging their historic value; they should be taken as facts regarded through the prism of the age, and not untruth as

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[1]W. Barthold, Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion, 2nd ed. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, N. S. V, (London 1925), p. 52.

opposed to truth, as it often happened in works of a positivistic bias "Geschichte und Sage", i.e., "history and legend" was a favorite label of the age,[2] as if legend were not part of historic truth. It is truth, but at a different level. In the following I will attempt to trace the factual and legendary presentations of a single historical event, namely the conversion to Islam of Berke, fourth khan of the Golden Horde. The fact itself, namely Berke's conversion, has often been mentioned in works of a general character,[3] but only two special studies were devoted to that subject. Jean Richard gave an overview of the sources and evaluation of the event,[4] and Devin DeWeese also contributed with

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[2]E. g. J. Moravcsik, "Attilas Tod in Geschichte und Sage," Körösi Csoma Archivum 2 (1926-1932), pp. 83-116.

[3]For Berke's reign (1257-1267) in the Golden Horde, with special reference to his conversion to Islam, see: J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland, (Pesth 1840), pp. 144-181 (specially pp. 150, 162); H. H. Howorth, History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century, II/1 (London 1880), pp. 103-125 (specially p. 105); Bertold Spuler, Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223-1502, (Leipzig 1943) pp. 33-52, 213-214; B. D. Grekov - A. Ju. Jakubovskij, Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie, (Moskva-Leningrad 1950), pp. 74-82 (specially pp. 80-81); G. Vernadsky, The Mongols in Russia, (New Haven 1953), pp. 151-163; M. Kafalı, Hanlığının kuruluş ve yükseliş devirleri, (Istanbul 1976), pp. 54-59.

[4]J. Richard, "La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or," Revue des études islamiques 35 (1967), pp. 173-184.

important data to the theme.[5] As stressed above, my main concern is with the separation of the different layers of historical tradition.

Berke was Batu khan's younger brother, who after the short reigns of Sartaq and Ulaghchi, sons of Batu (or the latter perhaps Batu's grandson), succeeded to the throne of the Golden Horde as its fourth sovereign in 1257. It has been a long established fact that Berke was the first of all the Mongol rulers who embraced Islam and began to spread Muhammad's faith in the Golden Horde. Though Islam finally gained ground in the Golden Horde only during Özbek's reign (1312-1342), Berke's deed was of a real historical momentum, so regarded also by his contemporaries.[6] It is not by chance that the Egyptian Mamluk sources are most enthusiastic about the conversion of Berke, as it enabled the political alliance of Mamluk Egypt with the Golden Horde against the Ilkhans of Persia. Most Arabic historians of Egypt deal with Berke's conversion, yielding precious pieces of contemporary information. The Persian historians, on the other hand, not too much enraptured by Berke's deeds, do not furnish us with any essential data concerning his conversion (Rashîd ad-Dîn, Vassâf, Qazvînî, Ta'rîkh-i Shaykh Uways, Muʿîn ad-Dîn, Naṭanzi, etc.). The two notable exceptions are Djûzdjâni and the anonymous work Shadjarat al-atrâk. The former lived in India, where he completed his famous world history, the

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[5]Devin DeWeese, "The Kashf al-Khudâ of Kamâl ad-Dîn Husayn Khorezmî: A Fifteenth-Century Sufi Commentary on the Qasîdat al-Burdah in Khorezmian Turkic," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University Bloomington, 1985), pp. 25-38, 97-101.

[6]For a survey of the history of Islam in the Golden Horde, see: M. A. Usmanov, "Êtapy islamizacii Dzhuchieva ulusa i musul'manskoe dukhovenstvo v tatarskikh khanstvakh XIII-XVI vekov," in Dukhovenstvo i politicheskaja zhizn' na Blizhnem vostoke v period feodalizma, (Moskva 1985), pp. 177-185.

Ṭabaqât-i Nâsiri, in 658 AH (1259-1260 AD). He was the only Persian author not in Mongol service, consequently with a sharp anti-Mongol feeling. A contemporary of Berke and a fervent Muslim, he recorded a few pieces of precious information concerning Berke's faith, not to be found elsewhere.[7] The anonymous work Shadjarat al-atrâk is a later excerpt of the lost work Ta'rîkh-i arba' ulūs, long attributed to Ulug-beg himself, but probably written only in his court. The Shadjarat al-atrâk may have originated at the beginning of the 16th century, in the age of the Uzbeks, as it displays an open tendentiousness towards the Jochids. At any rate, it contains interesting information derived from native Turkic chronicles written in Uighur script in the age of the Timurids.[8] Finally two Turkic works

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[7]For Djûzdjânî's life and work see The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New edition, vol.II (1965), p. 609. Edition of the Persian text: The Tabaqát-i Násiri of Aboo 'Omar Minháj al-Dín 'Othmán, ibn Siráj al-Din al-Jawzjani. edited by Captain W. Nassau Lees et al., (Calcutta 1864). [Henceforth: Djûzdjânî, ed. Nassau Lees.] For a new edition of Djûzdjânî's work see: A. Habibi (editor), 2 vols. (Kabul 1964-1965). This edition was not accessible to me. An English translation of the work: Tabakat-i Nasiri..., translated ... by Major H. G. Raverty, 2 vols, (London 1881).

[8]For the Shadjarat al-atrâk and the Tarih-i arba ulus, see Barthold, Turkestan (English edition), pp. 56-57 (= Sochinenija I, pp. 105-106); Bartol'd "Ulugbek i ego vremja," Sochinenija II/2, pp. 141-142; B. A. Akhmedov, "Ulugbek i ego istoricheskij trud 'Tarikh-i arba' ulus'," in: Iz istorii nauki êpokhi Ulugbeka, (Tashkent 1979), pp. 29-36. There are five known manuscripts of the Shadjarat al-atrâk: two in the British Library, one in the India Office Library, one in Bankipore and one in the Harvard University Library but there is no edition of the work. Samuel Barrett Miles translated MS Or.8106, ff.340-513 of the British Library, in a

must be mentioned. The Ötemish Ḥâdjdji Tâ'rîkhi was written in 1558 in Khwarezm. The author drew mainly on oral tradition of the Jochids, and preserved interesting details not to be found elsewhere.[9] Much of Ötemish Hâdjdji's chronicle was incorporated into the 18th-century Crimean chronicle ʿUmdat at-tavârîkh of ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmi.[10] These four sources (two Persian, one Chagatay and one Ottoman) are especially rich in

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rather unsatisfactory way (Col.Miles, The Shajrat ul-atrak, or Genealogical Tree of the Turks and Tatars, London 1838), and V. Tizengauzen edited and translated into Russian some parts of the work concerning the Golden Horde in Sbornik materialov otnosjashchikhsja k istorii Zolotoj Ordy II. Izvlechenija iz persidskikh sochinenij. Sobrannye V. G. Tizengauzom i obrabotannye A. A. Romaskevichem i S. L. Volinym (Moskva-Leningrad 1941) pp. 262-268, 202-209. [Henceforth: Tiz.II.] A critical edition of the work would be desirable.

[9]The Ötemish Ḥâdjdji Tâ'rîkhi has no edition. There are two known manuscripts of this important work, one in the library of the Uzbek Academy in Tashkent (No. 1552/IIm ff.24a-59a) and one in the private library of the late Zeki Velidi Togan in Istanbul. The Togan manuscript is inaccessible, only M. Kafali op. cit. made extensive use of it; I used a microfilm of the ms. in the Uzbek Academy. My sincere thanks go to B. Akhmedov for placing it at my disposal. - For further details and the edition of short passages from the Tashkent copy, see V. Bartol'd, "Otchet o komandirovke v Turkestan," Sochinenija VIII, pp. 164-169.

[10]For ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmï and his work see F. Babinger, Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke, (Leipzig 1927), p. 280. The work was edited from a unique copy of the Esad Efendi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, by Necip Asim bey in Istanbul 1343/1924-25, as an appendix of the Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası. [Henceforth: ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr, ed. Necip Asim.]

material referring to the Islamic tradition concerning Berke's conversion.

All Muslim sources (Arabic, Persian, and Turkic) are unanimous in stating that Berke was a genuine Muslim. But as far as the date of his conversion is concerned a great deal of uncertainty prevails. Opinions range from his infancy to the period after his enthronement in 1257. The latter opinion given by Abû'l-ghâzi can be eliminated at once; he is the only, and rather late (17th-century), authority to put Berke's conversion at that date.[11] All the other sources speak to the contrary. The conclusive proof is provided by Rubruck who left Constantinople on April 12, 1252, to visit Sartaq, Batu and the Great Khan Möngke, and returned to Cyprus on June 16, 1255. He was at Batu's court in 1253, and obtained part of his information there. Rubruck states that Berke, Batu's brother, nomadized towards the Iron Gate in the Caucasus, through which the Muslims coming from the direction of Turkey and Persia traveled to Batu. Berke became a Muslim and did not allow pork to be eaten in his court. On his way back, Rubruck learnt that

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[11] Baron Desmaisons, Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Behâdour Khan, I, (St. Pétersbourg 1871), p. 172. [Henceforth: Aboulghazi, Desmaisons.] Refuted already by Spuler, op. cit., p. 213, n. 41. Ibn Khaldûn on referring to one of his sources, al-Mvayyad, lord of Hamat (ṣâḥib Ḥamât) who is in fact Abû'l-fidâ, says that, according to the latter, Berke's conversion took place during his reign. V. G. Tizengauzen, Sbornik materialov otnosjashchikhsja k istorii Zolotoj Ordy I. Izvlechenija iz sochinenij arabskikh, (Sanktpeterburg 1884) pp. 367, 379. [Henceforth: Tiz.I.] This part of Abû'l-fidâ's work is lost, but in any case, his assertion, similar to that of Abû'l-ghâzi's, lacks any probability. Ibn Khaldûn himself adds that according to his other source, Ibn al-Hakîm, Berke embraced Islam during his brother, Batu's reign, consequently prior to 1256.

Batu ordered Berke to move east of the Volga (Etilia) as the Khan did not want the Muslim envoys to cross through the territory of Berke.[12] Evidently, by that time Berke became too involved in his traffic with the Muslims, and took the best part of the presents intended for Batu. At any rate, Berke must have been a Muslim by 1253, which is the terminus ante quem of his conversion.

As for further details, ʿUmarî claims that Berke embraced Islam after Möngke's enthronement, i.e., after 1251. Berke's important role in the enthronement of his nephew Möngke is well-known. According to ʿUmarî, on his way back from Mongolia where the enthronement of the Great Khan Möngke took place, Berke took a turn to Bukhara where he became Muslim.[13] ʿUmarî gained his information from a certain Shaykh Shams ad-Dîn al-Iṣfahânî who told him (faqâla) the history of

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[12]Rubruck, Itinerarium, esp. cap. XVIII, pars 2: "Berca frater Baatu pascit versus portam ferream, ubi est iter sarracenorum omnium venientium de Perside et de Turkia. Qui euntes ad Baatu et transeuntes per eum defferunt ei munera; et ille facit se sarracenum, et non permittit in curia sua comedi carnes porcinas. Tamen Baatu in reditu nostro preceperat ei quod transferret se de loco illo ultra Etiliam ad orientem, nolens nuncios sarracenorum transire per eum, quie videbatur sibi dampnosum." (A. van den Wyngaert, Sinica Franciscana, I (Quaracchi-Firenze 1929), p. 209. - The wording "facit se sarracenum" makes a double interpretation possible: 1. Berke became a Muslim, 2. Berke pretended to be a Muslim.

[13]ʿUmarî: Tiz.I, pp. 367, 379, and its Turkish edition by I. H. Izmirli, Altinordu devleti tarihine ait metinler (Istanbul 1941), pp. 399, 396. [Henceforth: Tiz./Izmirli.] See also K. Lech, Das mongolische Weltreich. Al-Umarî's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masâlik al absâr fi mamâlik al-amsâr, (Wiesbaden 1968), p. 101.

the Chingisids.[14] The same story is repeated by Qalqashandî.[15] (As far as Bukhara's role is concerned we shall return to it later.) Contrary to ʿUmarî's and Qalqashandî's data, Dahabî placed this event, Berke's visit to Bukhara and his conversion to Islam in the forties of the 13th century (sana nayyif wa arbaʿîn).[16] Which of these two chronologies is right (ʿUmarî, Qalqashandî or Dahabî), cannot be decided with any certainty. The broad chronological frames are 1240 and 1253. Furthermore, there is an account of Berke's envoys arriving at the court of Shams ad-Dîn Il-tutmïsh, Sultan of Delhi in 631 AH (1233/1234 AD). According to Djûzdjâni the envoys were not received by the sovereign who sent them to Kalivar. Finally, they were directed to Qannûdj during the reign of Riḍîya (634-637 AH = 1236-1240 AD) where they died. According to Djûzdjâni's testimony, the envoys were Muslims.[17] Though this account throws interesting light on Berke's foreign policy in the 1230s, no direct evidence can be drawn from it concerning his Islamic faith. The most we can conclude is that Berke's Islamic sympathies and his orientation towards the Islamic powers must have started in his youth, at a rather early date. The analysis of historical account ends here, and what comes next is evidently the realm of Islamic legends. Historic facts give way to legendary facts.

The Islamic mind was not content that Berke embraced Islam only as a grown-up and extended his Islam to his childhood, moreover to his infancy. It is again Djûzdjâni who preserved interesting pieces of information. He refers to trustworthy people (tiqât) who reported that

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[14]ʿUmarî: Tiz.I, pp. 222, 224. For al-Isfahâni see also Lech op. cit. pp. 32-33.

[15]Qalqashandî: Tiz.I, pp. 397, 406.

[16]Dahabî: Tiz.I, pp. 202, 205; Tiz./Izmirli, pp. 356-354.

[17]Djûzdjânî, ed.Nassau Lees, p. 446.

Berke was born during the conquest of Islamic lands (dar vaqt-i futûḥ-i bilâd-i islâm).[18] At another place Djûzdjâni asserts that Berke was born in China (Čîn) or Qipchaq or Turkestan when his father Jochi (Tûshî) conquered Khwarezm and his army stayed on the territory (bar zamîn) of Saqsin, Bulgar and Saqlab.[19] In this instance, Djûzdjâni or his informants, in their effort to trace back Berke's birth to the Mongol conquest of Khwarezm, bluntly erred. According to Mufaḍḍal Berke was fifty six years old in 1264/1265, so he must have been born in 1208/1209, much before the Mongol conquest of Khwarezm in 1219-1221.[20] After the birth of Berke, Djûzdjâni continues his narrative, his father Jochi ordered to give the baby to a Muslim midwife who would cut the navel string of the child and would nourish him with Muslim milk. He did all that in order to make a Muslim of his son.[21] If this story holds true, adds Djûzdjâni with an air of slight scepticism (agar în rivâyat ṣadiq ast), may Allah relieve his sufferings in the nether world.[22]

The Shadjarat al-atrâk preserved a slightly different version of the same legend. Berke was surely Muslim (mard-i musalmân bûd), and in certain histories (dar ba'dî tavârîkh) it was mentioned that he had been born as a Muslim (az mâdar musalmân tavallud kardä bûd). After his birth he refused his mother's milk (Shîr-i mâdar-i ḫod-râ nagirift), until a Muslim woman gave him

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[18]Djûzdjânî, ed.Nassau Lees, p. 379.

[19]Djûzdjânî, ed.Nassau Lees, p. 446.

[20]Mufaddal: Tiz./Izmirli, pp. 333, 328. DeWeese, op. cit. p. 31 was also deceived by Djûzdjânî's data and put the date of Berke's birth around 1220.

[21]Djûzdjânî, ed.Nassau Lees, pp. 379, 446.

[22]Djûzdjânî, ed.Nassau Lees, pp. 379-380.

her milk.[23] Wonderful happenings in the childhood of the would-be saint or hero are quite common hagiographic literature. The motif of wonders occurring in connection with the infant's suckling is found frequently both in Muslim and Christian hagiography. The famous prototype of this motif by the Turks can be found in the legend of Oghuz kaghan, eponymous hero of the Oghuz tribes. The infant Oghuz was not willing to suck his mother's breast for three nights and three days. Then he admonished his mother in her dream that only in case of her sincere conversion to Islam will he eat again.[24] It is noteworthy that while in Djûzdjâni's version the infant is not a positive hero, but his father is apotheosized, the version of the Shadjarat al-atrâk clearly bears witness to the influence of the legend of Oghuz Kaghan. In other respects too, the latter work often displays features of Turkic folklore of the Jochid territories.

Just as much as our sources are at variance with each other concerning the time of Berke's conversion to Islam, so they are in conformity concerning the place of this conversion. Dahabî, ʿUmarî, Qalqashandî, Djûzdjâni, the Shadjarat al-atrâk, and Djamal Qarshi are unanimous in stating that Berke went to Bukhara to meet the great shaikh of his time, Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî, disciple of the famous Najam ad-Dîn Kubra.[25]

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[23] Shadjarat al-atrâk: Tiz.II, pp. 264, 205. English translation; Miles, op. cit., pp. 229-229.

[24] Rashîd ad-Dîn, Djami at-tavarikh I/1 (Moskva 1965), pp. 92-93. - Qadir ʿAlî Djalâyir, ed. I. N. Berezin, Sbornik letopisej, tatarskij tekst, Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov II/1, (Kazan 1849-1854), p. 20.- Aboulghazi, Desmaisons I, p. 13.

[25] Dahabî: Tiz.I, pp. 202, 205 and Tiz./Izmirli, pp. 356, 354; ʿUmarî: Tiz.I, pp. 223, 245, and Tiz./Izmirli, pp. 399, 396; Qalqashandî: Tiz. I, pp. 397, 406; Djûzdjânî, ed.Nassau Lees, pp. 447, 428 and Tiz.II,pp. 17, 19, n.3 (Russian

According to Dahabî Berke arrived from Saqsin near the Volga. The words (kalam) of Bakharzî had a great effect on him and he became a Muslim. Qalqashandî and Djûzdjâni state that Berke embraced Islam from the hands of Bakharzî (fa'aslama 'alâ yadîhi; bar dast-i Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî [Sâhûrî] musalmân shudä ast).[26] In 'Abd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmi's narrative Berke first arrived in the territory of Sïghnaq (vilâyet-i Sidjnak) as he was compelled to flee from his relatives and his emirs who regarded him a fool because of his Islamic sympathies.[27] Abû'l-ghâzi stands alone with his assertion that Berke gained his knowledge of Islam in Saraychïq from two people coming from Bukhara.[28] Finally, Djûzdjâni remarks that in his childhood Berke was taught the Qur'ân by an imâm in Khudjand.[29] Be that as

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translation); Shadjarat al-atrâk: Tiz.II, pp. 264-265, 205, and Miles op. cit. p. 229 (English translation); Djamâl Qarshî, Mulhaqât as-surâh, ed. V. Bartol'd, Turkestan v êpokhu mongol'skogo nashestvija, I, (Sankpeterburg 1989), pp. 136, 159.

[26] Qalqashandî: Tiz. I, pp. 397, 106; Djûzdjânî, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 428. The word Sâhûrî in Djûzdjânî's text has no meaning, it must owe its origin to a scribal error from Baharzi (ساخورى > باخرزى).

[27] Ötemish Hadjdji: "... atasï Yoci han öldi irsä, kâfirlär arasïnda yüri bilmäy Sïgnaq sahringa kelip irdilär" (Tashkent ms. 41b.) - Abd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmï gives us further details: "kendi akrabasï ve ülke ümerasï bunï [namely Berke's sympathies towards the Muslim] nazardan iskât ve devr idüb mecnûndïr diyü mehcûr itmeleri hesebiyle du dani vilâyet-i Sïğnak tarafïna hicret idüb..." (Abd al-Ghaffâr, ed. Necip Asım, p. 21).

[28] Aboulghazi, Desmaisons I, p. 172.

[29] Djûzdjânî, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 446 and Tiz.II, p. 16.

it may, whether the vague references to Sïghnaq, Saraychiq and Khudjand are historically true or not, Bukhara's role is exceptional in Berke's conversion. In two serious sources mention is made of Bakharzî's initiative to convert Berke, and this variant seems to be trustworthy. Ibn Khaldûn and 'Ayni assert that it was Bakharzî who first sent one of his disciples to Berke with the message of Islam, which he embraced.[30] Berke's subsequent visit to Bukhara must have been the direct consequence of this successful mission. As far as the circumstances of Berke's visit to Bakharzî are concerned, several legendary elements mingled with trustworthy historical details have survived. After his conversion, Berke sent a diploma (Ibn Khaldûn) to Bakharzî in which he corroborated the shaikh in his property. ʿAynî's text comprises a legendary dialogue which served to underline the ascetic qualities of the great ṣûfî. Berke's envoy presented his lord's tablet of authority (bâyza) to Bakharzî who asked the envoy: "what is that?" He replied, "it will defend everybody who holds it." Then the shaikh responded: "tie it then to an ass, lead him to a meadow, and if it defends him from the wolves (ḏi'âb), I shall take it, otherwise it is useless to me." After the refusal of Berke's grace, Berke decided to go to the shaikh personally. But Bakharzî tested him again by making him wait for three days before the cloister gate. Finally, he gave in to the request of his disciples, and received the Tatar prince. A further, legendary element follows in the narrative which stresses the mysticism of the shaikh. Bâkharzî was totally covered in his dress and he did not unveil himself. Berke gave some meal in his hands and he ate it. Then Berke renewed his Islam by his hands and went home (va djaddida islâmahu ʿalâ yadihi wa 'âda ʿanhi ilâ baladihi). The two types of narratives complement each other. I think that Berke's Muslim sympathies may really have gone back to earlier stages of his life, but the final

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[30] Ibn Khaldûn: Tiz.I, pp. 367, 379; 'Ayni: Tiz.I, pp. 476, 507.

conversion and confirmation of his Islam can be connected to Bukhara and Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî.[31]

At this juncture a few words must be said of the learned Shaikh Bakharzî.[32] He came, as shown by his nisba, from Bakharz, in present-day Afghanistan. He went to Khwarezm to study with the famous mystic Nadjm ad-Dîn Kubra who later sent him as one of his khalîfas to Bukhara. His Khwarezmian stay must have been proudly remembered in Khwarezm as ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmi, who drew heavily on Khwarezmian tradition, called him Sayf ad-Dîn Khvârazmî.[33] In ʿUmarî and Ibn Khaldûn he is referred to as Shams ad-Dîn, but no other sources corroborate this name, so it must have been an error of these authors. In Bukhara Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî became the most famous sûfî. His fame also reached the Mongol rulers. Sorqaqtani-begi, mother of Möngke Kaghan, was said to have supported Islamic imams and shaikhs, notwithstanding her being a Christian. She donated a thousand balish for the founding of a madrasa in Bukhara, and appointed Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî as mutavalli of the vaqf in support of the madrasa. This must have taken place before 1252, the date of Sorqaqtani-begi's death.[34] The

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[31]Richard, op. cit. p. 177 has come to the same conclusion.

[32]See F. Köprülü: EI IV, p. 79; Iradj Afshâr, "Sayf ad-Dîn Bâharzî," Madjalla-i Dânishkada-i Adabiyât-i Dânishgâh-i Tihrân 9/4 (1341/19620, pp. 28-74; idem. "Saif-al-Din Bakharzi," in A Locust's Leg. Studies in Honour of S.H.Taqizadeh, (London 1962), pp. 21-27. (A French summary of the former article in Persian); DeWeese, op. cit., pp. 25-38.

[33]Abd al-Ghaffâr, ed. Necip Asım. p. 22.

[34]In Juvaynî: N. M.ibn A. Qazvînî, The Ta'rîkh-i-Jahâ-gushâ of Alâ'ud'-Dîn Atâ Malik-i-Juwainî II, (Leiden-London 1916), p. 256; English translation: J. A. Boyle, The History of the World-Conqueror by ʿAla-ad-Din ʿAta-Malik

eminent Shaykh al-islâm died on 24 du'l-qa'da 659/20 October 1261 according to the most realiable source, 'Ali-shah Khvarazmi's Ashdjâr va asmâr.[35]

Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî's influence on Berke must have been very strong. According to several sources he encouraged and supported Berke in his bid for the succession to the throne of the Golden Horde. Ibn Khaldûn, following Abû'l-fidâ's lost narrative, asserts that Tudâ Mengü, Batu's son (sic!) was ready to succeed to the throne, but Berke became the khan in his stead. Then Tudâ Mengü's mother turned to Hülegü who at that time was staying in Iraq, but the woman was captured and killed, most probably by Berke's adherents.[36] Nuvayrî has more to narrate about the same event. He calls Togan's wife (mother of Tudâ Mengü) Boraqshin, and adds that the emirs refused to accept her son as their khan. Then Boraqshin wrote a letter to Hülegü in which she offered the throne of the Golden Horde to the Mongol lord of Iran and Iraq. In giving the details of this episode Nuvayrî preserved an interesting piece of Mongol folklore. Boraqshin's letter was accompanied by an arrow without feathers and a gown without girdle which meant the following: there are no arrows left in the quiver, and no string in the bow, come and take the land.[37]

Juvaini, II, (Manchester 1958), pp. 552-553. - The same event by Rashîd ad-Dîn: J. A. Boyle, The Successors of Gengis Khan, (New York 1971), p. 200.

[35] Afshâr, op. cit. (in French), p. 21; DeWeese, op. cit., p. 98, n. 81.

[36] Ibn Khaldûn erroneously says that Tudân (evidently Tudâ Mengü) and Berke were Batu's sons. In fact Berke was Batu's younger brother and Tudâ Mengü was Toghan's son, consequently Batu's grandson. (Tiz.I, pp. 367, 378.)

[37] Nuvayrî: Tiz.I, pp. 130, 150 and Tiz./Izmirli pp. 248, 245.

Ötemish Hâdjdji's and ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr's versions differ slightly from that of Nuvayri; it was the emirs of the Golden Horde who turned to Hülegü, and the symbolic presents sent to him were a scabbard without a sword (in ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr a sword without a scabbard) and a shirt without a collar.[38] The exact interpretation of these symbols is surely an attractive task for students of Turkic and Mongolian folklore, but it lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say with P. Pelliot that the underlying thought of these symbols can certainly be connected with that of submission.[39] Apart from this interesting piece of Turco-Mongolian folklore, a great deal of confusion prevails in the narratives, so it is no wonder that Spuler doubted the historicity of this tradition arguing that it would have been quite unreasonable to turn to Hülegü who, at that time, was just making his preparations to capture Bagdad. The only fact he accepts as having some historical background is that a certain woman called Boraqshin had played an important role in

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[38]Ötemish Hâdjdji: Bikler ittifâqï birlä Hülägü hanga ilci yibärdilä<r>, qïlïcsïz gïn yaqasïz köngläk yibärdilär. (Tashkent MS, f.41a.). Abd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmï: ...ümerâ-yï nâmdâr müsâvereleri bunda karar itdi ki zümre-yi Kâ'ân olan evlâd-ï Toluydan Hülegüye ahkbar ve ulus-i Coçi güyâ sâhibsizdir diyü 'âdet-i mogul resmince is 'âr ve kïnsïz kïlïç ile yakasïz gömlek irsal itdiler (Abd al-Ghaffâr, ed. Necip Asım. p. 21). The original motif preserved by Ötemish Hâdjdji is evidently the "scabbard without a sword."

[39]Paul Pelliot, Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or (Paris 1949), p. 43. The interpretation of the symbols in the Ötemish Hâdjdji Ta'rîhi is very instructive: il qaldï pâdsâhlarï yoq, sadîqlarï qaldï ärläri yoq "the realm remained without a ruler, its faithful women remained without their men." (Tashkent MS f.41a.)

the events preceding Berke's enthronement.[40] Pelliot had a similarly negative opinion concerning the authenticity of this account. In his opinion, the false genealogy (Boraqchin was not Togan's but Batu's chief wife), the unacceptable chronology (the enmity between Hülegü and the Golden Horde began only after the capture of Bagdad in 1258, consequently after Berke's enthronement in 1257), and the legendary details all speak for that.[41] What remains is the person of Boraqchin, Batu's principal wife, who may have had a key role in the events after Sartaq's death in 1256. She must have supported the infant Ulagchi, her own son (or grandson) to the throne. There is no direct hint in our sources to the circumstances of Berke's succession to the throne, but Pelliot is probably right in assuming that Berke must have had no scruples in doing away with his enemies, in this instance Batu's widow Boraqchin, and maybe also Batu's son or grandson Ulagchi.[42] The chronicle of events preceding and concomitant with Berke's

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[40] Spuler, op. cit., p. 34. There are three versions concerning the identity of this Boraqchin/ Boraqshin: 1. According to Nuvayrî and 'Aynî (see n.37 above), she was Togan's wife; 2. In Hamdullâh Mustaufî's work she appears as Sartaq's wife (Tiz.II, pp. 219, 91; cf. Spuler, op.cit., p. 34, n.11 and 371); 3. in Rashîd ad-Dîn she is the chief wife (hatun-i buzurg) of Batu (Djâmi at tavârîkh I,1 (Moskva 1965), p. 193. The most reliable of these versions is that of Rashîd ad-Dîn, so there must have been one Borakchin, Batu's chief wife. By the way, Rashîd ad-Dîn gives the real name of Togan's wife, Küchü- khatun, who was the mother of the would-be khans of the Golden Horde, Mengü Temür and Tudâ Mengü. Cf. E. Blochet, Djami el tévarikh II, (Leiden-London 1911), p. 112. For the whole matter see also Pelliot, op. cit. pp. 39-41.

[41] Pelliot, op. cit. pp. 39-44.

[42] Pelliot, op. cit. p. 44.

enthronement is shrouded in mystery; the sources preserve only some faint memories of the enmity between the Boraqchin/Sartaq/Ulagchi faction and Berke's adherents. In all probability, the Hülegü/Berke confrontation is antedated.

But what comes next, I admit, is mainly of a legendary character. Two sources, both of them with a strong Jochid tendency and Central Asian affiliation, attribute a major role to Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî, Berke's Islamic master, in persuading his Chingisid disciple to ascend to the throne of Dasht-i Qipchaq. According to the Shadjarat al-atrâk it was to the direct command of the great shaikh (bi-amr-i hadrat-i shaykh-i buzurgvar) that Berke set out to fight Hülegü and occupy the throne of the Kipchak Khanate. Ötemish Hâdjdji and ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmi are especially loquacious in expounding their versions of Berke's and Sayf ad-Dîn's dialogue on the matter. The Islamic tendency and the legendary character of the account is beyond doubt. Berke behaves like a humble-minded Muslim faithful; he is weeping at the knees of Bakharzî, and refuses to ascend to the throne by referring to the example of Ibrahim Edhem, the Muslim legendary figure of Buddha, who too had rejected the throne and the crown. But the shaikh persuades him to go by arguing that the only goal of his sovereignty is to make the divine secrets and Muhammad's wonders evident to everybody. Finally, Berke gives in and sets out to engage Hülegü. The shaikh himself accompanies him to a place called Qara-köl near Bukhara, but, as it is pointedly added, Berke follows the mounted saint on foot.[43] According to a certain historian Ḥâdjdji-Tarkhanlu al-Hadjdj Niyâz, to whom Ötemish Ḥâdjdji and in his wake ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmi refers, Berke returned to the land of Kipchak with his small retinue of eight men through Khwarezm and Saraychïq. This otherwise unknown historian of Astrakhan may have preserved a local tradition of Berke's route back

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[43] Ötemish Hâdjdji Târihi, Tashkent MS, ff. 41b-42a; ʿAbd al-Ghaffâr, Qïrïmï ed. Necip Asım, p. 22.

to the Golden Horde. After the middle of the 13th century, the most frequented international caravan route led through Khwarezm - Saraychïq-Ḥâdjdji-Tarkhan (Astrakhan). On the other hand, we have no direct evidence on the existence of Saraychïq and Ḥâdjdji Tarkhan from the 13th century. The golden age of these towns fell within the 14th-15th centuries, so it cannot be excluded that their mention in connection with Berke's return from Bukhara is a later tradition.

Disregarding the legendary elements of these narratives and their strong Islamic bias, their historical kernel must be true. Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî had a great influence on Berke, and had supported Berke's ascension to the throne of the Golden Horde. It was in the interest of the Muslim clergy of Mavarâ'an-nahr to have a Muslim ruler on the throne of the Golden Horde, all the more so, since in 1251, the date of Möngke's succession to the throne of the Great Khan, Mavara'an-nahr fell under the rule of the khans of Jochi's ulus. After the seizure of power by Möngke, all the adult sons and grandsons of Chagatay were executed because of their plot against Möngke, so Chagatay's ulus, of which Transoxiana was an integral part, was allotted to Jochi's descendants. For almost a decade the Mongol world-empire fell into the hands of the Toluyids and Jochids, while Chagatay's and Ögödey's line was temporarily ousted from power.[44] Berke's enthronement in 1257 fell into this period, and it must have been a joyful event and good news to the Muslims of Mavarâ'an-nahr. But Berke's reign in Transoxiana was a passing glory. In the upheaval following Möngke kaghan's death (1259) Berke's supporters fell victim to the enmity between Ariq Böke and Qubilay, both having been elected great khans. Aligu, Chagatay's grandson and his army arrived in Transoxiana and killed all the nökers of Berke

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[44] V. Bartol'd "Eshche o khristianstve v Srednej Azii," Sochinenija II/2, p. 318, n. 12.

and their supporters. Among the victims was Sayf ad-Dîn Bakharzî's son Burhan ad-Dîn.[45]

The Muslim inhabitants of Transoxiana were grateful to Berke, their Muslim ruler, always benevolent towards his Muslim subjects. Two noteworthy Islamic traditions have been preserved in Djûzdjâni's work, both going back to a contemporary eyewitness of the events. This trustworthy person was Sayyid Ashraf ad-Dîn, a merchant of Samarkand who arrived in Delhi in 657 AH (Dec. 29, 1258-Dec. 17, 1259) and was received with honor in the court of Nâsir ad-Dîn Mahmudshah. Ashraf ad-Dîn was the son of Sayyid Jalal ad-Dîn Ṣûfî, leader of the Blind Nûr ad-Dîn's cloister (khânqâh-i Nûr ad-Dîn Aʿmâ).[46] Ashraf ad-Dîn related two stories or traditions (ḥadîṯ) concerning Berke's Muslim faith. Ashraf ad-Dîn's report is practically contemporary with the events; he told Djûzdjâni the stories in 1259, and the events took place between 1257 and 1259. Consequently, the learned sayyid's stories, based on first-hand information, deserve our special attention.[47]

Ashraf ad-Dîn's first story leads us to Samarkand between 1257 and 1259. At that time the town resounded with disputes and enmities between the Nestorian Christian and Muslim communities. The Christian community lodged a complaint with a Mongol official against a young man who converted

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[45]Rashîd ad-Dîn tr. Boyle, p. 258. According to Afshâr, op. cit. (in Persian), p. 45, Burhân ad-Dîn should be corrected to Djalâl ad-Dîn, since all the other sources mention Bâharzî's eldest son under that name.

[46]Djûzdjânî, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 448.

[47]It was only Barthold who noticed the significance of these reports and referred to them in his review of Raverty's translation of Djuzdjanî's work. See: Bartol'd Sochinenija II/2,pp. 263-264, and his article "Eshche o khristianstve v Srednej Azii," Sochinenija II/2, pp. 317-318.

from Christianity to Islam. The Mongol tried to persuade him to abandon his new Muslim faith, but the youngster was resolute and became a martyr of his Muslim faith. Then the Muslim community, shocked and alerted by the murder, decided to write an attestation (makhdar) and send it to Berke's court. Ashraf ad-Dîn was a member of the delegation which had a complete success. Berke's soldiers took revenge on the Christians of Samarkand who were massacred in their church.[48] This dealt a deadly blow to Nestorian Christianity in Samarkand, from which the community could never recover.

The other story of Ashraf ad-Dîn treats Sartaq's and his uncle Berke's relationship. This story is very tendentiously Muslim, and of a rather legendary character. The pious Muslim tradition led back Sartaq's and Berke's enmity to the Christian and Islamic faith of the respective rulers. On his way back from the Great Khan Möngke, who confirmed Sartaq in his dignity as khan of the Golden Horde, Sartaq avoided to visit his uncle Berke, on the pretext that to see a Muslim brings bad luck to a Christian like him. Berke became embittered, and after three nights' and days' prayer and crying, he succeeded in cursing Sartaq: God inflicted Sartaq with a disease of the stomach, and he soon died.[49] The only historical kernel of this story is Sartaq's and Berke's hostility which could, at most, be colored, but not basically motivated by their religious sympathies. Sartaq's and Berke's antagonism must have been known in wide circles of contemporary people, so they could not give credence to the news that Sartaq had died in a natural way. The Armenian Kirakos of Gandzak echoed the same gossip, a variant of which was reflected in Djûzdjâni's above-mentioned narrative. He asserts that Sartaq was poisoned by

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[48] Djûzdjânî, ed. Nassau Lees, pp. 448-450.

[49] Djûzdjânî, ed. Nassau Lees, pp. 450-451.

Berke and his brother Berkecher.[50] Whether this contemporary charge against Berke is well-founded or is a mere calumny cannot be decided at the moment. Djûzdjâni, whose benevolence and sympathies towards Berke are beyond doubt, fixed a variant in which Berke is indirectly involved in Sartaq's death. This tamed, pious Muslim version of the contemporary rumor was seemingly aimed at concealing the unveiled truth concerning Berke's real role and his responsibility in Sartaq's death.

Berke's conversion to Islam was a personal decision dictated by political and religious motifs, but the consequences of this deed were not at all personal. From 1257 on he did not act as a private man, but as an important political figure, as khan of the Golden Horde. His relatives and retinue followed him in choosing the prophet's religion. Two of his brothers are reported to have become Muslims. According to Abû'l-ghâzi's narrative Toqa Temür,[51] and in Kirakos of Gandzak's report Berkecher were Muslims.[52] His wife Chichek-khatun also embraced Islam and she had a portable tent-mosque (masdjid min al-khiyâm) built which she set up whenever she stopped during her travels.[53] This description furnishes us with an interesting example of combining new Muslim and old nomadic

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[50] Kirakos Ganzakec'i, tr. E. Dulaurier, Journal Asiatique 5e ser.11 (1958), p. 482.

[51] Aboulghazi, Desmaisons I, pp. 172-173.

[52] See note 50, above.

[53] Nuvayrî: Tiz.I, pp. 131, 151 and Tiz/Izmirli pp. 250, 249; 'Aynî: Tiz. I, pp. 478, 507; Maqrîzî: Tiz.I, pp. 418, 428. Chichek-khatun as wife of Berke is mentioned only by the three historians just mentioned. Otherwise, another Chichek-khatun is well-known from sources as being Mengü Temür's principal wife. Cf. Spuler, op. cit., pp. 63, 72, 372; Pelliot, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

practices. According to Mufaddal, Berke's emirs were also Muslim, and each had a mu'addin and an imâm in his service. Moreover, the emirs' wives, the khatuns had also their own mu'addins and imâms.[54] Not only Berke's family and a part of the Tatar aristocracy became Muslim, but also a considerable number of tribesmen who constituted the kernel of his military forces.[55] Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars reports on a remarkable detail concerning Berke's embassy to Egypt in 661 AH, (1262/63 AD). Two Tatar envoys arrived from Berke announcing their lord's conversion to Islam to the Mamluk court. In Berke's letter addressed to the Mamluk Sultan a list containing the names of Muslim Tatar houses fixed according to tribes and clans, was given (buyût at-Tâtâr . . . biqabâ'ilihim wa 'ashâ'irihim).[56] In the wake of Berke's Muslim adherents the 'ulamâ and sayyids also appeared and began to spread Islam in its Hanafits school (maḏhab).[57] Notwithstanding a certain exaggeration of our Muslim sources concerning the size of Islamic spread in Berke's realm, the fact itself cannot be denied, Berke's imperial will opened the way to the influx of Islamic ideas and institutions into the Kipchak Steppe.

Finally, I would like to conclude my paper with a remark of a general character. I have long been involved in the different aspects of the study of the history of the Golden Horde, and my ever-strengthening impression is that, despite a few monographs and a legion of articles, research in this field is at a very primitive stage. If one wants to inquire about a question of detail,

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[54] Mufaddal: Tiz.I, pp. 183, 194, and Tiz./Izmirli pp. 333, 328.

[55] Dahabî: Tiz.I, pp. 202, 205, and Tiz./Izmirli, pp. 356, 354; Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars: Tiz.I, pp. 96, 121, and Tiz./Izmirli, pp. 164, 161.

[56] Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars: Tiz.I, pp. 77, 98 and Tiz./Izmirli, pp. 164, 161.

[57] 'Arabshâh: Tiz.I, p. 461.

the general works often lead to a fiasco, and most details are still in obscurity. Especially felt is the lack of good critical editions of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic texts. In my paper I have tried to elucidate a minor problem of the history of the Golden Horde, and I am convinced that hundreds of such themes await their proper analyses. Only in possession of such studies of historical criticism may one think of embarking upon writing monographs on different aspects of the westernmost Tatar state, the Golden Horde.

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XVIII

ANDRZEJ TARANOWSKIS BERICHT ÜBER SEINE GESANDTSCHAFTSREISE IN DER TARTAREI (1569)

VON

L. TARDY—I. VÁSÁRY

Um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts spielten sich hochbedeutende Ereignisse in Osteuropa ab. Nach langwierigen Versuchen und Kämpfen vermochten die Russen im Jahre 1552 Kasan und nicht viel später, im Jahre 1556, auch Astrachan zu erobern. Dies bedeutete einen Wendepunkt nicht nur für Rußland, sondern im Leben ganz Osteuropas. Moskau konnte sich damit das ganze Wolgabecken sichern und die Nogajenstämme zwischen dem Schwarzen und dem Kaspischen Meer, die Tscherkessenstämme Nord-Kaukasiens sowie die Donkosaken unter seine Kontrolle stellen. Mit der Eroberung von Kasan und Astrachan eröffnete sich zugleich der Weg zur Expansion gegen Osten. Nach dem Zerfall der Goldenen Horde teilten sich einige mehr oder weniger gleich starke Staaten in der Herrschaft über Osteuropa, so die Khanate von Kasan und der Krim, die litauischen und moskowitischen Großfürstentümer. Dieses Gleichgewicht der Mächte ging Mitte des 16. Jh. zunichte, obgleich schon im Jahrhundert vor der Eroberung Kasans ein allmählicher Vorstoß Moskaus zu beobachten war; unter seiner Führung, namentlich unter der Regierung von Iwan IV. d. Schrecklichen, vollzog sich die Vereinigung der russischen Lande, sämtlicher Fürstentümer und Teilfürstentümer, in einen starken Zentralstaat.[1]

Gleichzeitig kam im Jahre 1569 die Union von Lublin zwischen Polen und Litauen zustande, wodurch der moskowitische Staat im Westen einen starken Gegner bekam. Das Erscheinen der Russen im Raum des Schwarzen und des Kaspischen Meeres sowie des Kaukasus bedeutete für das Osmanenreich, bereits am Höhepunkt seiner Macht angelangt, eine drohende Gefahr. Allerdings war der moskowitische Staat noch nicht unmittelbar bis zum Schwarzen Meer vorgedrungen, da die zwischen Russen und Osmanen eingekeilten Krimtataren noch im vollen Besitz ihrer Macht waren. Die Türken haben ihren zuweilen unbotmäßigen Krimvasallen schon seit langem gegen die

[1] Über die geschichtliche Lage Osteuropas Mitte des 16. Jh. s. G. Peretjatkovič, *Povolž'e v XV i XVI vekach (Očerki iz istorii kraja i jego kolonizacii.)*, Moskva 1877, S. 186—230.

Russen verwendet, und jetzt, da Astrachan von den Russen erobert wurde, gewann das Krim-Khanat noch mehr an Bedeutung. Die Krim blieb der einzige Erbe der Goldenen Horde, des einst mächtigen Tatarenreiches, und stand nunmehr zum Schutze des Islams und der türkisch-tatarischen Völker allein den Russen gegenüber. Gleichzeitig mit der zunehmenden Rolle des Krim-Khanats und den infolgedessen wachsenden Ambitionen seiner Khane mußte die Hohe Pforte mit erhöhter Wachsamkeit achtgeben, damit die Krimtataren in der Rolle eines Vasallenstaates verbleiben und keine selbständige Russenpolitik auf Kosten der Osmanen betreiben konnten. Diese Tendenzen waren in den kommenden Jahren für die komplizierten Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Russen, Krimtataren und Türken, für die jeweilige Mächtekonstellation bezeichnend. Die zunehmende Macht Iwans d. Schrecklichen bedeutete dem Osmanenreich die Notwendigkeit, neben den bereits vorhandenen Fronten in Europa und Persien eine neue Front zu eröffnen.

Es war also durchaus verständlich, daß die Türken die Eroberung Astrachans als einen Dorn im eigenen Fleisch empfanden und von Beginn an ungeneigt waren, sich mit dieser Veränderung abzufinden. Schon im September 1563 wurde der Plan eines türkischen Angriffes gegen Astrachan erörtert. Afanasij Nagoj, russischer Botschafter in der Krim, berichtete, der Sultan habe zu jener Zeit den Khan der Krimtataren zu einem nächstjährigen Angriff gegen Astrachan angeregt; zur selben Zeit kam auch der Plan eines Don—Wolga-Kanals zum erstenmal zur Sprache.[2]

Diesmal konnte aber der Plan noch nicht verwirklicht werden. Devlet Girej, der Khan der Krimtataren, bemühte sich von Anfang an, um den Sultan von seinem Vorhaben abzubringen, denn die Erstarkung der türkischen Macht im Don—Wolga-Gebiet wäre nicht in seinem, des Khans, Interesse gewesen, sondern hätte unvermeidlich die Machtstellung seines Khanats gefährdet. Statt dessen wollte er die verloren gegangenen Städte Kasan und Astrachan für sich selbst zurückgewinnen und forderte auch die Russen wiederholt auf, die Städte ihm abzutreten. Nachdem seine Bitte kein Gehör fand, wurden die tatarischen Angriffe gegen Moskau immer häufiger wiederholt.

Doch alsbald trat für das Osmanenreich der günstige Augenblick ein. 1568 wurde mit Kaiser Maximilian ein Friedensvertrag für die Dauer von 8 Jahren geschlossen, und auch die Gültigkeit des Friedenschlusses mit Polen wurde im selben Jahre verlängert. Nachdem solcherart der auswärtige Friede gesichert war, wurde der Plan eines Feldzuges gegen Astrachan zu Beginn 1568 dem Divan vorgelegt. Großwesir Mehmet Paşa sprach sich mit Begeisterung für den Plan aus und setzte seinen Standpunkt trotz zahlreicher

[2] Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii*, II/6, S. 214—215; H. İnalcık, *The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry and the Don-Volga Canal (1569)*: *Ankara Üniversitesi Yıllığı* 1947, S. 65—66.

Opponenten energisch durch. Die osmanischen Historiker, die dieses Ereignis ausführlich beschreiben,[3] bezeichneten als Hauptziel des geplanten Don—Wolga-Kanals die Schaffung entsprechender Transportmöglichkeiten und eines zugänglichen Aufmarschgebietes für die Kriege gegen Aserbeidschan und Iran. Auch der französische Botschafter Grantrie de Grandchamp vertrat diese Ansicht[4]. Nagoj, russischer Botschafter in der Krim, berichtete, die Pilger von Buchara und Chiwa hätten den Sultan ersucht, er möge Kasan und Astrachan befreien und damit den Weg der von Osten kommenden Mohammedaner sichern. Der Schah von Chwaresm wandte sich unmittelbar an den Sultan mit derselben Bitte.[5]

Nach all dem konnte der Feldzug nicht weiter aufgeschoben werden. An die Spitze des Türkenheeres wurde der Beglerbeg von Kaffa, Kasım Paşa, gestellt, der geborene Tscherkesse war ein Vertrauensmann des Großwesirs, zudem auch ein begeisterter Befürworter des Feldzugs und der Errichtung eines Don—Wolga-Kanals. Khan Devlet Girej zeigte jetzt ebenso wenig Lust, am Feldzug teilzunehmen, wie im Jahre 1563 und versuchte unter Berufung auf Wasserknappheit, Hungersnot und die Stärke der russischen Armee, den Sultan wieder von den Kampfhandlungen abzureden. Zugleich ließ er den russischen Botschafter wissen, der Sultan werde die Russen angreifen und auch besiegen, und ihn (den Khan) an die Spitze von Astrachan stellen; um dem vorzubeugen, solle ihm der Zar Astrachan abtreten.[6] Die taktischen Kniffe halfen aber nichts mehr, der Lauf der Ereignisse ließ sich nicht länger aufhalten.

Das vereinte türkisch-tatarische Heer marschierte von Kaffa ab und schlug sein Lager Anfang August 1569 bei Perewolok auf. Hier war nämlich die Entfernung zwischen Don und Wolga am kürzesten, und der Kanalbau wurde auch unverzüglich in Angriff genommen. Doch machten die Arbeiten nur langsame Fortschritte, und der Kanal wurde nur bis zu einem Drittel fertiggestellt. Die Tage wurden immer kürzer und die Arbeitsbedingungen mit der zunehmenden Kälte immer härter. Kasım Paşa sah sich gezwungen, seine Truppen unter Astrachan zu führen, doch kam es hier außer einigen Plänke-

[3] Hierzu s. H. İnalcık, *a. a. O.*, S. 71, Anm. 97.

[4] Sein Schreiben vom 14. März 1569 an König Karl IX. von Frankreich: «Car ilz contynuoient, comme ilz font encores à présent, de renforcer leur enterprinse pour achever la tranchée des deulx fleuves du Vulgue et de Thanays, pour aller tumber dans la mer Caspia, pour pouvoir mener et conduyre vivres et munitions a Cirvan, qui est l'une des principalles villes du roy de Perse, lequel se tient sur les siennes pour veoir quelle contenance ceulx-cy auroyent à l'achemynement de leurs affaires contre le Moscovitte, estant bien malaisé et quasi impossible qu'ilz ne s'entrentendent à ce jeu icy.» (E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant ou correspondances, mémoires et actes diplomatiques des ambassadeurs de France* . . . III, Paris 1853, S. 57).

[5] H. İnalcık, *a. a. O.*, S. 73.

[6] Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii* II/6, S. 219.

leien zu keinen größeren Kämpfen. An eine Belagerung der starken russischen Festung konnte man gar nicht erst denken. Gleichzeitig mußten die Türken ständig einen etwaigen Angriff der Perser befürchten, denn die Russen, nachdem sie Ende 1568 die türkischen Pläne erfuhren, sandten unverzüglich Novosil'cev nach Iran, um dort auf die Gefahr dieses Vorhabens aufmerksam zu machen und ein Bündnis gegen die Osmanen zu schließen. Der Winter nahte, die Moral der Truppen wurde immer schlechter, die Waffenerfolge blieben versagt und auch die Bauarbeiten des Kanals konnten nicht weitergeführt werden. Schließlich mußte Kasım Paşa am 20. September den Befehl zum Rückzug erteilen. Inmitten schwerster Entbehrungen dauerte dieser Rückzug über das desolate sumpfige Steppenland des nördlichen Kaukasus einen ganzen Monat, fast die Hälfte der Mannschaft ging zugrunde. Und als dann in Asow auch die Lebensmittelvorräte einem Großbrand zum Opfer fielen, wurde selbst die Hoffnung zunichte, den Feldzug im kommenden Jahr fortsetzen zu können. Der Feldzug von Astrachan endete also mit dem eindeutigen Mißerfolg der Türken; die russische Herrschaft in Astrachan war nunmehr unwiderruflich.[7]

Mit dem Türkenfeldzug von Astrachan im Mittelpunkt bildeten diese Ereignisse der 1560er Jahre den politischen Hintergrund jener Reise, die den polnischen Gesandten Andrzej Taranowski im Jahre 1569 nach Konstantinopel und Astrachan führte. Zwar waren Taranowskis Person und seine Reisebeschreibung insbesondere in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung bekannt, doch hatte sich niemand damit eingehend beschäftigt. Unseres Wissens ist seine Biographie bis heute noch ungeschrieben; sein Reisebericht, der gleich aus mehreren Gesichtspunkten von großer Bedeutung ist, wurde nur von A. N. Kurat[8] in seiner Analyse des Feldzuges von Astrachan erwähnt, obgleich es sich infolge der unmittelbar gewonnenen Informationen, den scharfen Beobach-

[7] Außer den angeführten Werken von Solov'jev und İnalcık s. Beschreibung des Feldzuges von Astrachan noch in: J. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* III, Pest 1828, S. 531–532; B. Sestrencevič, *Istorija Tavrii* II, 1806, S. 290–291; P. A. Sadikov, *O pochode tatar i turok na Astrachan v 1569 g.: Istoričeskie zapiski* 22 (1947), S. 132–166; A. A. Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s tatarami v pervoj polovine XVII veka*, Moskva–Leningrad 1948, S. 24–27; H. İnalcık, *Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü (1569)*: *Belleten* 46 (1948), S. 349–402; A. N. Kurat, *The Turkish Expedition to Astrakhan in 1569 and the Problem of the Don-Volga Canal*: *The Slavonic and East European Review* XL (1961), S. 7–23; A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve Idil boyu (1569 Astarhan seferi, Ten-Idil kanalı ve XVI–XVII. yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus münasebetleri)*, Ankara 1966, S. 93–156; A. Bennigsen, *L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569: Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* VIII (1967), S. 427–446; T. Gökbilgin, *L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569: Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* XI (1970), S. 118–123; Ö. Gökbilgin, *1532–1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nın siyasî durumu*, Ankara 1973, S. 46–51.

[8] A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve Idil boyu*, Ankara 1966, S. 36–42.

tungen und gründlichen Beschreibungen des Verfassers um ein Quellenwerk ersten Ranges handelt.

Andrzej Taranowski war einer der bedeutendsten Diplomaten des 16. Jahrhunderts, zudem als Oberstkämmerer und Großmundschenk ein hoher Würdenträger am polnischen Hof, nach Ansicht seiner Zeitgenossen ein hochgebildeter Mann. Vor 1569 war er, ebenfalls als Gesandter, dreimal in Dänemark und einmal in Schweden gewesen.[9] Wiederholt hielt er sich in der Türkei (1569—70, 1572, 1574–75, 1579) und auch in der Krim (1577, 1578) auf.[10] Der unmittelbare Anlaß seiner Gesandtschaftsreise 1569 war die Tatsache, daß Sultan Selim II. einen Gesandten an den Polenkönig Sigismund August mit der Bitte sandte, ein türkisches Heer von 30 000 Mann durch polnisches Gebiet gegen den moskowitischen Staat ziehen zu lassen. Der König war mit diesem Vorschlag nicht einverstanden und schickte Taranowski mit dieser Botschaft sowie mit der Versicherung seiner Wohlgewogenheit zum Sultan.[11]

Taranowski dürfte seine Reise nach Konstantinopel im Juni 1569 angetreten haben (im Reisebericht wird das genaue Datum seiner Abfahrt nicht angegeben), nach dem Umstand zu urteilen, daß er am 14. Juli dort eingetroffen (s. Text S. 227) und am Weihnachtsabend desselben Jahres, am 24. Dezember also, nach Warschau zurückgekehrt ist. Sein Reisebericht ist sehr bald, möglicherweise schon im Jahre 1569, geschrieben worden. Nach den verschiedenen handschriftlichen und gedruckten Exemplaren dieses Berichtes zu schließen, dürfte sein Werk seinerzeit höchst populär gewesen sein. Für die moderne Wissenschaft wurde es von Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812—1887), einem namhaften polnischen Schriftsteller des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, entdeckt. Dieser ließ Taranowskis Reisebericht im Jahre 1860 drucken, zu-

[9] J. Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami*, Warszawa 1860, S. 134. - «... do Dániey trzykroć y do Szwecyey w poselstwie ieździł.» Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syná iego wydána, W Krakowie 1567, S. 626; vgl. noch B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, Kraków 1858, S. 427–428.

[10] J. Reychman A. Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, The Hague—Paris 1968, S. 175, 180. Der Lebenslauf Taranowskis wird kurz zusammengefaßt von P. Matković, *Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. vieka: Dva putopisa poljskih poslanstva u Carigrad: E. Otvinovskoga od god. 1557. i Andrije Taranovskoga, komornika, od god. 1569*: *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* CV (1891), S. 175–179. Die Literatur über Taranowski s. K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska* XXXI, S. 26; vgl. noch B. Spuler, *Europäische Diplomaten in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739)*: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 1936, S. 391, 392.

[11] «Tegoż roku Cesarz Turecki Selim przysłał do Krolá Ibraimá Strászá, Herbu Odrowąż, Polaká poturczonego, zádáiąc go o to, ponieważ mu był nieprzyjacielem Kniáż Iwan Moskiewski, aby przepuścił trzydźieści tyśiecy woyská iego przez grunt Korony Polskiey do Moskwy. czego Krol mu pozwolić żadna miára niechćiał, y owszem mu tego moca wszystka bronić chćiał. Z czym posłał do niego Dworzánina swego Andrzeiá Táránowskiego Herbu Bylina, ...» (Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego, W Krakowie 1597, S. 626).

sammen mit den Botschafterberichten des Erazm Otwinowski aus dem Jahre 1557 und des Piotr Zborowski aus dem Jahre 1568.[12] Das Manuskript, nach dem er die Reiseberichte herausgab, hatte er in der Bibliothek des Grafen Henryk Iliński in Romanow, Wolhynien, entdeckt. Kraszewski gab den vollständigen Text heraus und modernisierte lediglich die Orthographie. Selbstverständlich handelt es sich nicht um eine kritische Ausgabe, und insbesondere die Transkriptionen der Ortsnamen sind unzuverlässig. Außer dem veröffentlichten Manuskript kannte Kraszewski keinerlei andere Hand- oder Druckschrift über Taranowski.

Das von Kraszewski benützte Manuskript ist wohl identisch mit dem Manuskript, welches in der Jagellonen-Bibliothek zu Krakau (Biblioteka Jagiellońska) unter der Signatur 5267 aufbewahrt wird. Einzelheiten wurden darüber unlängst in Polen veröffentlicht.[13]

Zwei längere Abschnitte sind in dieser Ausgabe nicht enthalten: «Sprawa wojska tureckiego w ciągnieniu» (Angelegenheiten der türkischen Armee beim Abzug) und «Sprawa wojska tatarskiego w ciągnieniu» (Angelegenheiten der tatarischen Armee beim Abzug), die zwar nicht zur eigentlichen Reisebeschreibung gehören, aber insbesondere wegen der Beschreibung der Bräuche der Tataren hochinteressant sind. Auch diese Ausgabe ist nicht kritisch und enthält lediglich kurze Fußnoten.

Außer dem vorangehend behandelten Manuskript, welches übrigens in zwei gedruckten Ausgaben erschienen ist, war der Taranowski-Bericht noch in einem weiteren handgeschriebenen Exemplar bekannt; es handelt sich um die sog. Lelewel-sche Kopie aus dem Jahre 1813, die sich zuerst in Sulgostow im Muzeum Narodowy im. Swidzińskich[14] und sodann in der Krasiński-Bibliothek befand.[15]

Die Krasiński-Bibliothek wurde später in die Warschauer Nationalbibliothek (Biblioteka Narodowa) einverleibt, die auf unser Ansuchen folgende Antwort schickte: «Nearly all manuscripts of the former Krasiński Library were destroyed during the war (no. 118 included).» Dieses Manuskript wurde also vernichtet, und so müssen wir uns mit der Tatsache abfinden, daß uns Taranowskis Reisebericht nur in einem Manuskript in polnischer Sprache erhalten geblieben ist.

[12] *Podróże i poselstwa Polskie do Turcyi a mianowicie*: Podróż E. Otwinowskiego 1557, Jędrzeja Taranowskiego komornika j. k. m. 1569, i Poselstwo Piotra Zborowskiego 1568 przygotowane do druku z rękopismu przez J. I. Kraszewskiego. Wydanie Kazimierza Józefa Turowskiego, W Krakowie 1860, 82 S. Taranowskis Reise: S. 41–61.

[13] *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI wieku*. Pod redakcją Romana Pollaka. Wybór i opracowanie Stanisław Drewniak i Marian Kaczmarek. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1966, S. 205–216. Beschreibung des Manuskripts *a. a. O.*, S. 183–184.

[14] *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI wieku*, S. 203.

[15] Unter Signatur Nr. 718, s. K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska* XXXI, S. 26.

Allerdings zirkulierte Taranowskis Bericht kurz nach seiner Reise in Polen auch in gedruckter Form, und zwar in der Ausgabe 1597 der Chronik von Marcin Bielski. Selbstverständlich ist Taranowskis Bericht in den ersten drei Ausgaben der Chronik (1551, 1554, 1564) noch nicht zu finden, sondern erst in der vierten (1597), die von Joachim, dem Sohn Marcins, in erweiterter Form veröffentlicht wurde.[16] Diese letztere Ausgabe wurde in Warschau noch zweimal nachgedruckt (1764 und 1829).[17] Bielskis Text ist mit der handschriftlichen Taranowski-Relation und den daraus entstandenen Ausgaben nicht identisch, sondern eine abgekürzte, zusammenfassende Variante derselben; statt der ersten Person Einzahl wird die dritte Person Einzahl benützt. Estreicher nimmt an, Bielski dürfte seinen Text einer heute schon unbekannten, verloren gegangenen polnischen Druckschrift entnommen haben.[18] Außer Bielskis Chronik wird Taranowskis Mission auch in anderen zeitgenössischen polnischen Chroniken mit einigen zusammenfassenden Sätzen bedacht.[19]

Neben den zeitgenössischen handschriftlichen und gedruckten Varianten blieb die Taranowski-Relation auch in einer zeitgenössischen deutschen Publikation festgehalten, die unmittelbar nach Taranowskis Reise im Jahre 1571 in Nürnberg erschienen ist.[20] Der Titel des anonymen Werkes lautet wie folgt: «Beschreybunge einer Reyse oder eins zuges, eins fürnemlichen Polnischen Herrn, von Königklicher Polnischen wirden, Botschafftweiß gen Constantinopel, vnd von dannen inn die Tartarey gezogen. Mit bericht vnd meldunge mancherley seltzamer hendel, vnd grossen schaden, so die Türcken dazumal erlitten, sehr nützlich vnnd wol zulesen. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg, durch Dieterich Gerlatz. M.D.LXXI.» Zuerst hat Estreicher den Autor des anonymen Werkes nicht mit Taranowski identifiziert,[21] sondern an Broniovius gedacht, dessen Beschreibung der Tartarei allgemein bekannt war,[22] erst später, beim Namen Taranowski, gibt er den Titel der anonymen Reisebeschreibung an (s.

[16] Titel s. Anm. Nr. 9.

[17] Die Beschreibung dieser Ausgaben s. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska* XIII, S. 88–89.

[18] Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska* XXXI, S. 26.

[19] So z. B. Łukasz Górnicki in seinem Werk «Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej»: «Niż się ten rok skończył, Strasz, Polak poturczony, posłem od Turka do króla przyjechał. Po poselstwie Straszowym Andrzej Taranowski do Turek wyprawion, który potym za ludźmi cesarza tureckiego posłany był z Carogroda z czauszem aż tam, gdzie wojska tureckie ziemią i morzem szły ku ziemi moskiewskiej do Astrachani. Te wojska Turek dlatego był wyprawił, iżby przekopali górę, którą zowią Perewołoka, żeby te rzeki, Wołcha i Don, zejść się mogły.» (*Antologia pam. polskich*, S. 247).

[20] Über das Werk s. Meusel, *Bibliotheca historica*, Lipsiae 1787, Vol. II, P. 1, S. 250; Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska* XXXI, S. 26; C. Göllner, *Turcica* II, S. 248–249.

[21] Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska XV–XVI stol.*, S. 51.

[22] *Martini Broniovii de Biezdzefedea bis in Tartariam, nomine Stephani primi Poloniae regis Legati, Tartariae descriptio* ... Coloniae 1595.

Anm. 20). Diese deutsche Ausgabe wurde zuerst von Petar Matković (1830–1898), einem Geographen von Zagreb, in einer Abhandlung benützt, in der dieser den balkanischen Teil der Taranowski-Reise analysiert.[23] Die deutsche Druckschrift ist übrigens eine bibliographische Rarität ersten Ranges; zur vorliegenden Arbeit wurde das Exemplar benützt, welches in der Sammlung von alten und seltenen Druckschriften der Budapester Nationalbibliothek «Széchényi» aufbewahrt ist.

Schließlich, doch nicht zuallerletzt sei noch erwähnt, daß es außer dem gedruckten deutschen Exemplar auch eine zeitgenössische, handschriftliche deutsche Übersetzung gibt, die, wie wir es noch sehen werden, auch der deutschen Druckschrift als Grundlage gedient haben dürfte. Dieses Manuskript befindet sich im Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Turcica I, fasc. 25, Konv. 1569 Oct.—Dec. ff. 97r—118r).[24] Beide deutsche Varianten, sowohl die gedruckte als auch die handschriftliche, sind im wesentlichen gleichen Wortlautes und enthalten Interpolationen und kurze Erläuterungen, die es im polnischen Original nicht gibt. Daß es sich um eine Übersetzung handelt (wie das schon von Matković angedeutet wurde),[25] geht aus dem Umstand hervor, daß der deutsche dem polnischen Text in geradezu sklawischer Treue folgt und daß in beiden deutschen Texten eine ganze Reihe buchstäblicher Übersetzungen vorkommt. Hier nur eines der vielen Beispiele: Der polnische Ausdruck *obronną ręką* (Kraszewski S. 51) wird im Deutschen mit dem ungewohnten Ausdruck *mit gewapneter Hand* (Wien 107r, Nürnberg 13r) wiedergegeben. Über die Beziehungen der beiden deutschen Varianten läßt sich folgendes sagen: Die Druckschrift wurde vermutlich an Hand des Wiener Manuskriptes verfaßt, während dieses unmittelbar auf das polnische zurückgreifen dürfte. Die Druckschrift zeigt zahlreiche Fehler und falsche Lesungen in der Transkription der Orts- und Personennamen; es wird konsequent versucht, die Namen nach der deutschen Orthographie zu schreiben, während im Manuskript vielfach die polnische Rechtschreibung beachtet wird; das *ć* wird z. B. meistens mit *cz*, nach polnischer Art, wiedergegeben (*Soczawe*: 97 r; *Cziengi*: 97 v, usw.). Zudem ist es auch aus historischen Überlegungen als wahrscheinlicher zu betrachten, daß die Relation über Wien nach Nürnberg gelangt ist. Damals bestanden sehr gute Beziehungen zwischen dem polnischen und dem öster-

[23] S. Anm. 10.

[24] Die Wiener Handschrift war für lange Zeit in Vergessenheit geraten, bis A. N. Kurat 1958 sie wieder entdeckt (*a. A. O.*, S. 39–41), und die türkische Übersetzung der Relation als Anhang seines Werkes mitgeteilt hat (S. 027–048). In dieser Übersetzung wurden wahrscheinlich die deutschen und polnischen Varianten ebenso ins Betracht gezogen, aber sie ist keineswegs eine philologische Arbeit zu nennen. — Hier möchten wir Herrn Amtsdirektor Anton Németh unseren innigsten Dank für seine bereitwillige Hilfe aussprechen.

[25] Matković, *a. a. O.*, S. 173–174.

reichischen Hof, man informierte sich gegenseitig über türkische Gesandtschaften. Auch der Bericht über Taranowskis Mission wurde unverzüglich nach Wien geschickt, wo er sofort ins Deutsche übersetzt wurde.

Merkwürdigerweise schließt sich der Taranowski-Relation eine russische Erzählung aus dem 17. Jh. an, die in der zweiten Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts in der Zeitschrift der Geschichtlichen Gesellschaft von Odessa erschienen ist.[26]

Das Manuskript, das sich im Posol'skij Prikaz befand und sodann in Privatbesitz gelangte, wurde von A. Pol' herausgegeben. Laut Einleitung berichtet wahrscheinlich ein Kosak dem Fürsten Golycin über den türkisch-tatarischen Feldzug gegen Astrachan und Asow im Jahre 1677. Nun ist uns aber aus dem Jahre 1677 keinerlei Feldzug dieser Art bekannt, und bei gründlicher Prüfung des russischen Textes stellt es sich heraus, daß ganze Teile Wort für Wort mit der Taranowski-Relation übereinstimmen. Die Ursachen dieser Zusammenhänge sind uns unbekannt, zumal wir von der Geschichte und dem späteren Schicksal des russischen Manuskriptes nichts wissen. Wir könnten vielleicht vermuten, daß jemand ein späteres Ereignis beschrieben hat, indem er sich des Reiseberichts Taranowskis wortwörtlich bediente. Allenfalls hat diese russiche Variante keinen selbständigen Quellenwert; wir nehmen ihre abweichenden Lesungen nur bei geographischen Namen in Betracht.

Alles in allem steht uns Taranowskis Reisebericht in Form eines polnischen Manuskriptes, zweier deutscher Varianten und einer russischen Adaptierung zur Verfügung. Es kann jetzt nicht unser Ziel sein, den Text in sämtlichen Variationen in Form einer kritischen Ausgabe zu publizieren, schon deshalb nicht, weil die polnischen Wissenschaftler in der seit langem geplanten Herausgabe der polnischen Quellen über die altaischen Völker dies offenbar tun werden.[27]

An dieser Stelle möchten wir uns auf die Veröffentlichung der Wiener deutschen Variante beschränken, da die deutsche Übersetzung unmittelbar nach der Entstehung des polnischen Originals gemacht wurde, diesem sehr

[26] *RNE godu genvarja vъ 22-j den' pisana sija 7185 kniga v domu bojarina knjazja Vasil'ja Vasil'jeviča Golycina glagolemaja: sija kniga istorija o prichodě tureckago i tatarskago voinstva podъ astrachan' lěta ot sozdanija mira 7185 a otъ Roždestva Christova 1677: Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej* VIII (1872), S. 479 - 488.

[27] Hierzu s. E. Tryjarski, *O projekcie i potrzebie opracowania publikacji* Ludy ałtajskie w polskich źródłach pisanych do połowy XVI w.: *Sprawozdania z prac nauk.* wydz. I PAN 1967/2, S. 78 und ders., *Some Early Polish Sources and their Importance for the History of the Altaic World: Journal of Asian History* 3 (1969), S. 35, Anm. 5. Während unserer Arbeit erfuhren wir von E. Tryjarski, er habe die Relation Taranowskis für die eventuelle Publikation bereits ins Englische übersetzt. Für seine bereitwilligen Informationen und insbesondere für die Freundlichkeit, unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die polnische Ausgabe 1966 und auf die eigenen Beiträge gelenkt zu haben, möchten wir E. Tryjarski auch an dieser Stelle unseren innigen Dank aussprechen.

genau folgt, ja, stellenweise auch kürzere Erklärungen enthält. Vor dem Text der Relation bringen wir auch das Vorwort der Nürnberger Druckschrift, welches die Umstände der Publikation erläutert und anderenorts nicht zu finden ist. Dem Text sind Kommentare beigefügt, in denen wir selbstverständlich auch die Lehren aus allen anderen (polnischen und russischen) Varianten ziehen, insbesondere bei der Deutung der Ortsnamen.

Vorerst wollen wir uns aber einen kurzen Überblick gestatten, um zu sehen, wie sich die Reise Taranowskis abgespielt hat, und mit der Vorausschikkung welcher Bemerkungen die Reisebeschreibung in Nürnberg veröffentlicht wurde. Nach einer kurzen Erörterung der Notwendigkeit, ein solch populärwissenschaftliches Werk herauszugeben, werden im Vorwort die türkischen, tatarischen und russischen Völker erwähnt. Den damaligen Kenntnissen entsprechend werden die türkisch-tatarischen Völker Scythen genannt und eigentümlicherweise auch die Russen für ein scythisches oder tatarisches Volk gehalten. In der Charakterisierung der Russen oder, wie sie hier genannt werden, der Moscowitter werden die vom Unwissen und den religiösen Vorurteilen jener Zeiten bedingte Mangelhaftigkeiten nicht überboten. Sodann kommt der Verfasser des Vorwortes auf die Beschreibung der Reise zu sprechen. Er erwähnt als Merkwürdigkeiten den Plan des Don—Wolga-Kanals sowie die *Mazerischen Felder*, von wo auch seines Erachtens die Ungarn stammten, obgleich er hinzufügt, andere seien der Ansicht, daß die Ungarn aus Jura, d. h. Jugria gekommen sind.[28]

Taranowski folgte der üblichen Marschroute der polnischen Gesandten und traf, über die Moldau und die Dobrudscha kommend, am 14. Juli 1569 in Konstantinopel ein, wo er sich einen Monat lang aufhielt. Diese Zeit wird nur ganz kurz behandelt, die Sehenswürdigkeiten Konstantinopels werden nur berührt. Am 14. August brach er von der Residenz des Sultans auf und gelangte über die Dobrudscha und Akkerman am 2. September nach Očakov; hier überquerte er den Dnjepr, und von nun an wird der Bericht äußerst bewegt und gründlich zugleich, weit mehr als die üblichen diplomatischen Reiseberichte jener Zeiten. Taranowski, dessen Aufmerksamkeit vor allem den Bräuchen, Sitten, der Kriegskunst und Viehzucht der Tataren galt, unterschied sich von seinen Zeitgenossen darin am vorteilhaftesten, daß er nicht die vielfach überholten Behauptungen der klassischen Autoren wiederholt, sondern lediglich seinen eigenen Beobachtungen glaubt, und darüber hinaus nur die Mitteilungen seiner tatarischen Reiseführer wiedergibt. Während seiner langen Reise war er höchst gefährlichen Abenteuern ausgesetzt: mehrere Tage ohne Speise und Trank, Ausdampfungen der Sümpfe, eine unerträgliche Invasion

[28] Über die Jugria-Frage vom Gesichtspunkt der ungarischen Urgeschichte s. I. Vásáry, *A jezsuita Cseles Márton és a Julianus-jelentés* (*A Magna Hungaria és Jugria-kérdés történetéhez*): *Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései* (im Druck).

von Insekten und obendrein die blutigen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den beiden «Verbündeten», den Türken und Tataren. Am 16. September traf er in Asow ein und reiste nach zweitägiger Ruhepause weiter, um alsbald einer Horde der Nogajen zu begegnen. Hier werden die Bräuche der Tataren beschrieben. Taranowskis Urteil ist recht hart, Worte des Lobes findet er lediglich für die Kenntnisse der Tataren in der Viehzucht. Am 27. September begegnet er, eine Tagereise von Astrachan entfernt, dem türkischen Heer, welches unverrichteter Dinge sich von Astrachan zurückzog. Aus diesem Anlaß beschreibt nun Taranowski den im Mai dieses Jahres begonnenen Feldzug sowie die Ausgrabung des Don—Wolga-Kanals. Am 1. Oktober wird der polnische Gesandte vom Tatarenherrscher Devlet Girej empfangen. Am 5. Oktober trat er die Heimreise an; über Umwege, unter den schwierigsten Verhältnissen, an Dürre und Wasserknappheit leidend durchquerte er die Magyarischen Felder, die südlich der Steppe von Astrachan oder der Kalmückensteppe gelegen haben dürften. In diesem Teil seines Reiseberichts sind viele interessante Angaben über die Topographie jenes nur wenig bekannten Gebietes enthalten. Am 23. Oktober erreichte die kleine Schar Asow und setzte nun die Heimreise auf dem kürzesten Weg, in Richtung Perekop, Očakov und Akkerman, sodann über Galizien fort, um am Weihnachtsabend 1569 in Warschau einzutreffen.

Im deutschen Text bedienten wir uns folgender Vereinfachungen und Abkürzungen: Statt *ů* schrieben wir *u*, statt *ſ s*, statt *ÿ y* und statt *v̈ ü*. Wir gaben nur die Pagination des Manuskripts, nicht aber die Zahl der Zeilen an. Die Abkürzungen sind entziffert in Klammern angeführt, die nicht mit gotischen Buchstaben geschriebenen Worte, die im Manuskript hauptsächlich zum Hervorheben der Eigennamen dienen, sind kursiv gesetzt. Die in dem polnischen Text fehlenden Teile, die sich nur in den deutschen Varianten befinden, sind in ⟨ ⟩ angegeben. Abkürzungen in den Anmerkungen: K = Kraszewskis polnische Ausgabe, N = die Nürnberger deutsche Druckschrift, B = Ausgabe 1597 der Bielski-Chronik, R = Text der russischen Variante.

Ein kurtze Vorrede, zu der volgenden beschreibunge, vnnd deswegs erzelung, wol dienlich

Es ist ein schrifft hin vnd wider verschickt, von einem kriegßhandel zwischen dem Moscowitischen vn(d) Türkischen volck in etlichen Tartarischen lendern fürgenom(m)en vnd ergangen, in welcher vil trefflicher vnd mercklicher sachen begriffen, also das nicht wenig verstendiger Leut für nützlich vnnd gut geachtet, dieselben schrifft inn druck außgehen zulassen, darmit dieser dinge erzelung vnd anzeigunge in mehrer wissenschafft kommen möcht, darumb, das dise vermeldung von wegen des seltzamen thuns vn(d) zugetragner begegnuß, auch

XVIII

vermerckunge der land vnd leute eigenschafft, gar wol vnnd nützlich zulesen, da auch an ihm selbst das menschliche gemüte verloffne geschicht zu erfaren begirig. Vnnd dienet deren betrachtung vn(d) erwegunge, etwa zu vil gutem, in dem das man dardurch gewarnet vn(d) erinnert wird, welchs beides zu vnsern zeite(n) hoch von noten, da mancherley sehr sorgliche gfahr vor augen, das auffsehen aber vn(d) notwendig nachdencke(n), bey jederman nit volgen will. Das aber nicht geringer, sonder

grösser nachtheil vnnd schaden gemeinem Teutschen land zubeförchten, von dem ein vnnd vberfalle dieser mitternechtischen völcker, die rechte Scythe sind, vnd mit einem namen jetzo Tartari genennet werden (vnter denen die Moscowiten, ob sie wol des glaubens vnnd der Religion abgesondert, doch auch begrieffen) denn vor dem Türckischen vbermechtigen gewalt, erferet man der hochsinnigen vnd wolachtsamen bedencken vnd meinunge, vnd verursacht solches der gegend art, vnd sonst allerley, so sich hierhinn ereugnet, daruon dißmals zuschreiben die gelegenheit nit ist. Vnnd wird billich solches einem jeden nicht zu verachten noch in wind zuschlagen, sonder wol vnd eygentlich zu hertzen nemen, heimgestelt.

Es ist aber für gut angesehen, kurtze hiebey vermeldung zuthun, von den völckern, welcher in dieser schrifft gedacht, vnnd etlicher ort vnd stelle namen zu erkleren. Das nun die Türckische nation auch ein Scythisch volck sey, vnd von den rechten jetzo Tartern genant jr herkommen habe, were dißmals außzufüren vnnd erweisen zu lange. Die genanten aber Moscowiter sind on allen zweifel ein Scythisch oder Tartarisch volck, etwa Ros, vnd Rosalani genant, wie noch heutigs tags der namen der Reussen ihnen geblieben, vnd haben die Ros vnd Rosalani vor jaren mit den Griechischen Constantinopolitanischen

Keisern vil zuthun gehabt, sind aber zu dem Christlichen glauben kommen, vnnd inn dem selben mit den Griechen einig, demnach die Moscowiten auch den Constantinopolischen Patriarchen als jren in Geistlichen oder religion sachen Obersten erkennen. Was aber auch bey jnen für schedliche, böse, auch nerrische aberglauben vnnd superstition eingerissen vnd vberhand genommen, das ist vnuerborgen, vnnd neben anderer der waren rechten religion verfelschung vnd verhönunge allenthalben zubeklagen, vnnd derwegen Gottes genade vnnd barmhertzigkeit vmb hülff anzurüffen.

Es ist aber das Scythisch, vnd jetzo Tartarisch, ein sehr manigfeltig volck allzeit gewesen, vnnd hat durch seinen außfall auch bey den gar alten zeiten andere land vnd leute mit durchstreiffunge vnd einnemungen hart bedranget, wie denn Herodotus schreibt, das sie inn Asia das land Mediam etliche jar besessen, vnd ist volgends dieses volcks gewalt dermassen erweitert, das sie vnter sich das beste theil der bekandten Welt gebracht haben, vnd noch

ein kleiner flecke inn Europa allein vberig ist, den GOtt der Herzgenedigklich lenger behüten wölle, vnd in dem alle zubereitung vnnd befürderunge sorglichen vnfals barmhertzigklich abwenden.

Diß Scythisch oder Tartarisch volck, woher es

seinen namen habe, mage vermutlich ersuchen, wer da will,

Dieweil es aber ein vnmessige weite Landschafft vnd heymand innen hat, inn Asia vnd Europa. Also werden dem an andern orten andere namen zugeeygnet. Die Moscowiter werden Reussen (wie gesagt) vnd mit zunamen weisse Reussen, denn auch rote vnd schwartze etliche genennet, vnd haben den namen von dem wasser Mosca, Ryffland Liuonia vnd *Eifluorum regio* genant, jnen benachtbart, hart angegriffen vnnd jemmerlich verhert, darumb sich noch heutigs tages annemendt. So erstreckt diß land sich gegen dem etwa genanten Bosphoro Cimmerio, vnd Taurica Chersoneso, jetzund Przekop, vnd Precopia, daruon Tartari Precopite, vnd reichet oben an die Littaw, da etwa die Sarmate gehauset, vnnd denn allenthalben gegen Morgen thut sich auff die grosse Tartaria, das ist Scythia, uber welche der oberst Cham oder Can, auff Tartarisch oder Scythisch genennet. Dise reyse wird gar weytleufftig beschrieben, vnnd ist diß ein wunderlicher zug gewesen. Erstlich durch Poln vnd denn die Lender der Walachey, etwa Dacia, zu welcher end die Duna, Danubius zu latein, in das Meer Pontum Euxinum oder Mare maius fleusset, da Danubius als den(n) Ister genennet wird, in das selbe meer fleusst auch das wasser Borysthenes, jetzund Dnieper vnd

Neper, dergleichen der flus Tiras, jetzund Niester, vnd wird daselbst auch Bialgrad genennet, vnd Alba, da doch ein ander Belgrad oder Bialgrad inn Pannonia, oder gege(n) Vngern ligt, Taurinu(m) genant. Die Duna daselbst Ister, fellet mit mehr den(n) einem fluss oder arm in das meer, deren einer jtzo Dumotz genennet. Von den Precopitischen aber Tartaren, mit denen grentzen Circassi, welche den Griechischen glauben haben, vnd Christen sind, wird die reyse oder der zug beschriben, biß gen Astracam von dem schloß Azack, an dem wasser Tanais, jetzo Tain vnd Ton, da Astracam vber die Volga, etwa Rha, gegen dem mare Caspium, jetzund de Bachu gelegen (welches den Tartaren die Moscowiten abgewunnen im jar Christi Jesu 1551) das also zwischen diesen zweyen orten, wie der zuge vnd dieselben beschrieben, nit vil weniger sein kan, dann bey 200. Teutscher meilen. Es wird auch gemeldet in diser schrifft, das die Türcken einen berg durchgraben wöllen, zwischen dem wasser Volga vnnd Tain, wie etwa der König inn Persia Xerxes den Berg Athos, jetzund heilig berg, durchgraben hat, wird nach anzeigung der gelegenheit, die weite zwischen disen wassern, da die am nechsten bey einander, sich erstrecken biß auff 7. teutscher meyle. Da der Mazerischen felden gedacht, wird gemeldet, es solten die Vngern deren ort jren vrsprung

haben, da doch andere meynen, sie kom(m)en ferner auß den Scythischen lendern, da noch der name(n) Jura ist. Von den Nohaischen Tatern aber werden wunderliche dinge geschrieben, das diese Leut mehr Vihischer denn menschlicher art zuachten.

Es wird auch gedacht eins Thiers Sarnapan, welches andere Giraffan heissen, bey den alten Camelopardalis genant, vnd ist vor etlichen jaren deren eins auch in Teutschland gebracht worden. Die Moscowiten (von welche(n) auch vorhin meldung gethan) sind grobe, harte, wilde, vnnd gar vnbarmhertzige Leute, die doch jren obersten (welcher ein Keiser von jnen genennet) in allem weg den eussersten gehorsam leisten, vnd wiewol von disem volck viel genugsam geschrieben, hat man doch nit für vndienstlich geacht, gekommene zeitunge etlicher handlung des jetzigen Moscowitischen Herrn, hiebey zu setzen, auß denen allerley nachgedenckens vnnd rechnunge zumachen. Volget also der berichte vnd beschreibunge der offtgedachten reyß oder zugs.

97 r *Kurtze beschreibung des wegs gegen Constantinopel aus pollen Auch aus Constantinopel gegen Astracan* welches ain Moschowittisch Schloß ist vnd ligt gegen aufgang der Sonnen auf *Persien* zue. Darneben der Zug des Türggischen Kriegsuolckhs welchen sy im 1569 Jar gegen *Astrachan* gethann, wie sy vmbkhommen, auch waß Innen vnd den Tattern im haimbziehen begegnet. Wie Ich *Andreas Taranowsky*[1] auß Pollandt gegen *Constantinopel*, durch die Walachey, durch den beschrienen waldt *Bukowin*,[2] ⟨in welchem vor 73 jaren, daß ist im 1497 Jar fünffzig tausent polnischer mann von Walachen auf ainen Tag erlegt seindt,⟩ auch auf *Soczawe*,[3] alda der *Destpot* vngeuor vor fünff Jaren von Vngern verrathen, vnnd von den Walachen zustuckhen gehawen ist worden. Auch auff *Sereschz Lupuschno*[4] geraist bin, bin ich zum ersten khom(m)en in ain Türgkische Statt mit nam(m)en *Kilia*,[5] auß der Statt *Kilia* bin ich die Thonwasser auf in ainer Galleen biß zu dem grossen Fach da man die hausen fenget, welches ain viertl tagraiß von *Kilia* ligt, gefahren.

Von *Kilia* in ain Stattlin mit nam(m)en *Tulza*,[6] von Tulz in ain statt *Baby*.[7]

Von *Baby* seindt wir die Post geritten, in ain Griechisch dorff *Harowerdj*[8]

97 v Von dannen in ein Stettlin, *Hala kapi*[9] bey demselbigen Stättlin seindt noch allte mauren vnnd Gräben, da sich die Griechen der haiden gewehrt haben, vnnd alda ainen graben vnnd Mawr, bey zwo clafftern dickh von dem mehr, wa es der Thonaw am nechst(en) ist, in die Thonaw gemacht, welche mauren dreissig meillen lang sein, welche noch zum thail auff den heuttigen Tag gesehen word(en). Von *Hala kapi* in ein Stattlin *Bazarzigk*[10]

Darnach gegen *Prowadj*[11] alda ist ain zerstörets Griechisch Schloß auf ainem hohen Felßen.

Von *Prowadj* in ain dorff *cziengi*.[12]

Von dannen über ain sehr hohen Perg, welcher genanndt wirdt *Ballchan*[13] in ain ander Griechisch dorff *Nader*.[14] Aber den Berg mag man vmbfaren auf zwo Tagraisen, dann er ist so hoch d(a)ß man schwerlich mit ainem wagen vber denselben khom(m)en mocht Auß dem dorff *Nader* in ain Stattlin *Heydoß*.[15] alda schaiden sich die strassen auf *Constantinopel*. Aine geeth auf *Adrianopel* die annder gerichts durch Aych vnnd Schwarzwelde in ain beschriene Griechische Statt *Kercklißß*,[16] die man auf Teutsch Vierzigkhürchen nennen mag. Alda auch heut ain meile von der Statt ain Schloss auf ainem hohen berg, deß namens wie die Statt, ligt, da yezt auch Griechen wohnnen, vnnd Ire weinberg herumb haben. Inn dem Schloß seind vierzig Christliche Griechische Kürchen gewest, Bey welchen Kürchen, neben dem *Archimetropolita* gewohnet haben Acht Tausent Müniche, dasselbig schlosß ist also vest gewesen, daß der Türg

98 r gische Kayser *Sulthan Baiazet* anderhalb Jar dar für geleegen da seindt vil Griechische Kriegsleuth vmbkhom(m)en, enndtlich wie der Hunger im Schloß vberhandt genom(m)en, seind die Münich mit den übrigen Khriegsleuthen, hinunder auf die Türggen gefallen, vnnder Innen grossen schaden gethan, aber doch selber alle Ritterlich gestorben.

Der Türgg nachdem Er d(a)ß Schloß bekhom(m)en, hat er dasselb befestigt, alda alle Khürchen zerstöret, allain nur aine gemaurte die von Constantinopolitanischen Kayser *Constantino* von Märmel vnd Alabaster gebawt gewest, steen lassen.

Von *Kirckles* in ein Stattlin *Regyarasar*.[17]

Von *Regyarasar* in ain Stattlin *Wischa*[18] alda auch ain gemaurtes Schloß ligt, ist aber vom Türggen zerstort worden, vmb daß Schloß seindt vier mauren gewest, aine yede drey clafftern dickh, auch souil gräben vnnd Wöhl allß Mawren. Aber nachdem die Türggen, d(a)ß Schloß bekhom(m)en, haben sy die Vestung zerstöret Von *Wischa* in ein Stattlin *Czatulzie*,[19] da der Türggische Kaiser in die Jagten khombt, vnnd ettliche wochen alda in seinem hof wohnet, bey welchem Er gar ainen sehr costlichen garten hat. Inn demselben vil von Vögeln, vnnd clainen wilden Thüren. Daß Stattlin ligt nur drey meilen von *Constantinopel*, man raiset alda hin am maisten darumb, d(a)ß vil vnnd manicherlay geflügel in weinbergen vnnd Walden ist.

Von *Czatulzie* bin ich den 14. July gegen Constantinopel khom(m)en alda vier wochen wohnende, bin ich stets spazieren, wan ich nur von Ir kun: mt geschefften hab abkom(m)en mögen, geritten vnnd gefahren, zuvorauß geen *Gallata*, zusehen d(a)ß Kaiserlich geschüze

98 v welches alda vil Tausent stuckh seindt, maur precher, vnnd waß auf die Galleen gehörig, daß ligt auch seer vil allß bloß auf der erden, on eingefaßt, one laden vnnd Räder.

Dar nach bin ich spazieren zu Wasser auf dem Möhr gefaren, ain meil

von *Constantinopel* zu ainem Schloß *Carraasar*, in welches Schloß die aufsehentlichesten gefangene Cristen gesezt worden. Alda ist dem Schloß gegen über auch ain ander Schloß *Anatulekaraasar*.[20] Zwischen den zwayen Schlössern fleußt d(a)ß schwarze Möhr in d(a)ß blanckhe, da es auch so eng ist, d(a)ß man es auf vier mahl auß ainem Pogen überschiessen, vnd also kan khain schiff, auß dem großen blanckhen Möhr in d(a)ß schwarze on wissen vnnd willen der zwayer Schlößer khom(m)en. Demselbigen weg bin ich auch gewest bey den Kayserlichen lüstheusern, sehr formlich, costlich überauß schön gebawet, vnnd welcher vil ist.

Aines ist gebawet aus Zipressen holz, ⟨da die Zipressen baume so groß seindt, allß bey vnnß die Kieffern,⟩ mit costlichem Schuzwerckh, werckhlichem vnd künstlichem laubwerckh geziert. Aineß von costlichem Alabaster vnnd Marmel sehr künstlich außgehawen, vnnd mit goldt eingelegt. In einem seind die wende außwendig vnnd Inwendig gemaurt, von Türckhischem gemalten laihm, also wie die Türggischen Schisseln vnnd kriegln seind, die man zu vnnß bringt.

Alda ist auch ain Lusthaus von Glaß gebawet vnd daß Pa

99 r uiment auch schon mit glaß belegt. Bey ainem yeden Lusthaus seindt schone *Fontanen* mit grossem cost gebawet, vnnd sehr riechende kreutter, manicherlay obeß, alß *Citrinen*, Pom(m)eranzen, feigen, Granatäpfel, ölpaum etc. Inn ettlichen Lustheusern seind vil wilde thier, auch in ainen yeden lusthauß seindt des Kaysers mancherlay schöne Roß, auf welchen der Kaiser vnnd die seinigen, die auff in wartt(en), wann sy hinkom(m)en, reitten. Dann in die Lustheuser pflegt der Kaiser zu wasser zu khom(m)en, dann sy ligen alle am *Anatolischem* Vffer. Also er khom(m)e an welches er welle, so findt Er fertige Roß, auff welchen er aufs veldt mit falckhen vnd annderm waydwerckh reittet.

Ich hab auch alda zu Constantinopel d(a)ß wildt *Sarnapa* gesehen, welches seer groß ist, vnnd übrig hoch, also d(a)ß es von der fersen biß auf die hohe deß Khopfs sein mag, bey sechs clafftern, wa nicht mehr, dannoch ist d(a)ß vorder thail grosser dann daß hinder, ist schöckhicht wie ain schacht taffel, gar niderig(er) haar, ain taill desselbig(en) seindt weiß, daß ander liechtfall, der Kopff ist ainem Kamäll kopf gleich.[21]

Nachdem ich bin abgefertigt worden von dem Türggischen Kaiser, bin ich außgefaren von Constantinopel den 14. Augusti. Die grosse strasse farende, bin ich khom(m)en in ein Stattlin *Konzyk Zekmesya*,[22] wa ain pruckh mit grossem vncosten von lautter werckhstuckhen gemaurt ist, über ainem Arm auß dem Möhr, an welcher pruggen zehentausent man fünff gannzer Jar gebawet haben.

99 v Der Khlainen Stettlin schweigende bin ich gegen Adrianopel desselbigen Monats khom(m)en.

Von *Adrianopel* in ain Griechisch dorff mit nammen Ciengi über den Berg *Balichan*.

Von dannen durch *Prouadien*, *Bazarzick*, *Hala Kapy* in dj *Baby*.

Von der Baby in die *Czachzj*[23]

Von *Czachzj* bin ich gefaren auf der Thonaw wasser ab in die *Chilia*, auf ainer Galleen, alda hinder der Chilia auf zwo meilen feldt die Tonaw ins Möhr. Von *Chilia* bin ich khommen gegen *Byolagrodt*,[24] daß zuuor zur Walachey gehört hat. Zu *Bialogradt* hab ich mich lassen vbersezen, über den Niester, zween Tag bin ich in den Felden am Möhr stetts geraißt, alda auch der *Nyester* nur ain meil hinder *Byalogrodt* ins Möhr fleußt, doch in denselben felden seindt prunnen, da man die Roß trennckhen khan.

Nichtweit *Ozakaw* hab ich mich lassen übersezen, über ain fliessende Sehe, in ainem khlainen khan, welches genandt wirdt *Beresan*,[25] welches See yemandt vmbfaren woldt, muest er zween Tag außen weeg faren, doch khann man durch die *Beresam* die Pferde schwem(m)en, dann es enge ist, nur so weit, allß man auß ainem bogen schiessen mag.

Gegen *Ozakaw*[26] bin ich khom(m)en den annd(er)n *Septembris* alda ich nur drey stundt gewarttet, auf die, die mich auf den Dneper od(er) *Borysthenem* hetten übergefürt, denselbigen Tag bin ich

100 r auch hinüber gefaren gegen *Perekop*[27] (der Dneper fleußt 14 meilen von *Nyester*, feldt ins Möhr ain halbe meil hinder *Ozakaw*. [)] Also bin ich innerhalb fünff Tagen, durch drey beschrienen fluß, die in *pontum Euxinum* fallen, allß die thonaw, *Borysthenem* vnnd *Thyram* od(er) Niester gefahren. Zwischen Pereckhop vnd *Ozakow* fenget sich die Tartarey ann. ⟨Allda ist der yezige Herr Albrecht *Lasky* von zwaien Jaren mit seinem Hauffen 4000 starckh zu Roß eingefallen vnd 40000 Viech hin weckh getrieben, vil Tartarischer vnd Türggisch(er) Kriegsleuth erschlagen, vnnd mit gewapneter Handt daruon khom(m)en, vnnd d(a)ß darumb, d(a)ß Ime die Tattern in seine guetter waaren gefallen.⟩

Wie ich bin zu *Perekop* gewesen, so hab ich deß Tatrischen Kaisers Sohn *Aldigiereya* besuchet, welcher ain meil von *Perekop* kämel vnnd ander Viech gehirtet hat, dann es alda in der Tarterey der brauch ist, das auch der großen herren khind(er) inner Irer Jugent müessen Viech hüetten, vnnd also sich im schiessen auch von zwayen Jaren anhero auß der Püchssen üeben, Welchen deß Tartars Sohn, allß ich von Ir M: Pollandt gegrüsset bin ich gegen *Berekop*, mit sambt dem Türggischen *Czauss* zu nacht khom(m)en, alda zween ganzer Tage verharrt vnnd auf den wüesten (dann wir eillf Tagraisen in wiesten welden zu ziehen gehabt) allerlay Prouiandt ein gekhaufft.

Wie ich von *Perekop*, da sich die wüesten felder anfahen, mit welchen der berüem(m)bt Schlesier, Bernhard Britthwiz sich offt geüebt vnnd vast alle Jar die Tatern besuecht hat,[28] bin außgefahren.

XVIII

100 v So hab ich den Tag bey ainem guetten wasser über nacht geleg(en) denn andern bey gemaurten brunen welche *Karakuy* genanndt werden schwarze brunen,[29] von welchen brünen zu dem Fluß Szutt od(er) *Moloznia* auf Polnisch, od(er) Milchstromb auf Teutsch seindt zwäy nacht läger.[30] Darnach seindt wir zween Tag am Wasser geraysset, den dritten, wasser aber seer stinckhet vnd madicht bekhom(m)en mit nam(m)en *Karsack*[31]

Von dannen zum Fluß *Agazlibert* hülzener stromb,[32] ain grosse Tagraisse, darnach zu ainem annd(er)n fluß *Beriughall* ain khlaine Tagraiß.

Von dannen wider zu ainem fluß mit namen *Maley Kall*,[33] ain claine halbe Tagraiß, von welchem fluß ain grosse halbe Tagraiß ist, zu ainem beschrienen fluß *Muß*[34] in die felder. Zwischen die Felder ziehen die Tartern mit Irem Viech, allß mit Schaffen, Kameln, Rossen, auf die Wint(er)ung dann alda ist seer groß graß vnnd die Flüsß seer Vischreich.

Vnd wäyl die Tartern nicht pflegen khain hew zu höwen, so ziehen sy auf den wintter dahin, wo d(a)ß graß am grössten ist, welliches das Viech vnnd(er) dem Schnee herfüer scharende haben mag.

Alda ist auch ain schröckhliche grosse menge d(er) wilden thier, allß nemlich Rech hürsen, wilde Roß vnnd Schwein, Aur ochsen, da wir auch beysam(m)en zu 300 Rech geseh(en) hab(en)

101 r Bey dem Fluß *Musz* ist ain Eich wäldlin, nicht groß aber ser dickh, welches d(a)ß wasser vmbflossen hat, alda wie in einem werder, seind vil der Schleen, dann, hinen gehen vnnsere *Kosacken*, d(a)ß wildt zuschiessen, auf die Tartern zu berauben, der *Kossacken* seindt alda zu weilen, bey 200 mit büchsen, die Tartern so baldt sy der *Kossacken* Innen werden, samlen sy sich baldt auf ettlich 1000, aber so baldt die unserigen daß weldlein erraichen, so khonnen Innen die Tartern nichts anheb(en), sonnst ist über all khain holz in den felden. Bey dem waldt hat sich der Fürst *Wischnowiezky* gern aufhallt(en), ⟨der in der *Walachey* vor sechß Jaren vngefaar ist gefangen worden, vnnd gegen *Constantinopel* gefüert,[35] alda an ainen eysern hackhen an ain Ryben gehennckht, da man nach *Galata* fehret.

Man ziehet noch alda bey demselben wasser *Muß*,⟩ da vor Zeit(en) ain schloß gestanden, dann auch auf heut zertstörte mauren noch vo rhannden. ⟨Dasselbig wasser ist sehr glümpfig vnnd schilffig vnd hierumb vil vnnd mainicherlay wilde Thier, vnnd sonnderlich wilde schwein zu hundert stueckhen bey sam(m)en dergleichen ich grösser nicht gesehen, dann die Tartern vnd Türggen, wie sie schweine vlaisch nicht essen, also pflegen sy es auch nicht zu schiessen.⟩

Von dem oben genannten Fluß seindt biß zu dem Türggischen Schloß *osow oder Asack*[36] zwo Tagraisen, aber nur ain nachtläg(er). Eß seindt aber vil flüß vnnd mosichte Sehen darzwischen, vnnd(er) d(a)ß schloß fleußt ain grosses wasser mit nam(m)en *Vluter*[37] zu latein *Thanais*, polnisch *Dan*, welliches *Europam* vnd *Asiam*

101 v tailet, hinder dem Schloß auff zwo meilen fleußt es in d(a)ß Mör *Pontum Euxinum*. Ehe man aber zu dem Türggisch Schloß *Asack* khommet, mueß man zway mall schwem(m)en, ain mall durch ainen Armb, welcher genandt wirdt *Dunez*, d(a)ß annder mal über den fluß selbest *Tanais*.[38]

Die Tattern, wann sy durch daß fluß, vnnd sonnst vberal mit Irem Hör ziehen, pflegen sy sich also zu schwem(m)en, sy binden zway grosse gebundt schilff, koppeln die rosß zusam(m)en, wie die Hundt, legen allen rossen, von einem zum and(er)n alle zeum an die Helse, die Schwanz binden sy Inen auch zusammen, vnnd legen also auf ain gebundt, den bogen mit sambt dem Köcher, vnnd Irem sattl, vnnd sezen selbst auf daß annder gebundt, mit ainer Handt halten sy die Roß mit den schwanzen, mit der anndern Handt treiben sy die Roß für Innen, vnnd allso werden sy von den Rossen hinuber gezog(en). Wir haben nicht gewellt also schwemen, sonnder haben gesuecht vnnd gewartet, ob yemants vnnß in ainem Schifflein hinuber füeren, wenig hat es aber gefellt, d(a)ß wir nicht an die Moscowitter, die den Türckhischen Galleen nachgesezt haben, khomen sein. Von welchen ich hierund(er) schreiben will. Gegen *Asack* seind wir den 16. Septembris khom(m)en, ⟨alda mit den rossen zweey Tag geruehet, von danen seind wir den 18. desselben Monats aufgewest.⟩ Nachdem wir ain Notturfft von Prouiandt, souil wir nur auff drey Tatarischen

102 r Rossen haben forttbringen mögen, einzukhauffen hetten. Dann zwischen *Asack* vnnd *Astracan* auf der posst reittende vnnd die Roß offters abwaschende, seind eilff grosser Tag raisen, ain yed(er) der Posttieren wil mueß ain Roß, vier, fünff, od(er) sechß, an der hanndt füeren, wann ainß müedte wirt, auff d(a)ß annder sizen, seind stetts vor Tag außgerütten, nach der Sonnen vnd(er)-ganng abgefertigen noch seindt wir khaum den eylfften Tag hinkhom(m)en.

Den ersten Tag, wie ich von *Asack* bin ausgeritten, hab ich ain Nachtlager gehabt am wasser, dem anndern Tag zu mittag habe ich ain stinckhens wasser gehabt, alda bey dem wasser ist ain Haidnische Kürch, wa die Tattern gepflegt haben die Erstlinge von dem Viech den Göttern zu opffern, vnnd auf ainen Stain wie ain Altar gemacht, halb zu verbrennen, halb mit den wild(en) Vögeln zuuerspeissen, alda auf heut ain grosse schrockhliche menge ist von Adlern, Schkhasten Aären, Raben, vnnd annd(er)n mehr geflügel, welche alda zu nisten pflegen. Den Tag sind wir über die Ciracoschische Velder gezogen. ⟨Die *Circassi* seindt Tattern, aber geben dem *Muscowitter* tribut.[39]⟩ Den dritten Tag hetten wir ain leger gehabt, bey guettem wasser, aber haben die Roß alda getrenckht, vnnd seind auff zwo meilen weitter geritten, dann wir seindt alle mall ain meil od(er) halbe aufs wenigst außen weg vom Nachtläger geraisset, vnnd d(a)ß darumb, d(a)ß die Tatern, die dj nachtlager gewisst vnnß nicht überfallen, berauben, welches sy dan gern thuen, od(er) ja gar todt schlagen soldten. Inn denen feldten haben wir

XVIII

102 v gesehen seer vil wilde Roß, Hürsch, Röhe, vnnd annd(er)e Thier, vnnsere füerher haben ain wildt Roß auß ainem bogen erschossen.

Der Tattern Sitten[40]

Inn 22. desselbigen Monats Sept(embris) seind wir khom(m)en zu ainer Tatterischen Horden der *Noheytzschaer* Tattern, den Tag auch bey Innen gewest, auf ainem panckhet. Haben vnnß verehrt gehabt, mit Khobell, Mülich, Pferden vnd Schopsen fleisch, mir hat nichts schmeckhen wellen, dann ich mich befohrt, sy wurden vnnß yemands auf ainem Nachtleger erwürg(en).

Die Tattern khönnen vnnd wüssen wenig von gott, haben wed(er) eher noch tugent, der sterckste der beste, doch haben sy vnnd(er) Innen ainen öberisten, denn sy *Casey Murscha* nennen,[41] dem gehorchen sy wenn sy wellen.

Diß Jar haben sy auß forcht deß Thatterischen *Praecop*ischen Kaisers seinen sohn, Innen zu ainem Herren angenom(m)en, haben ain sehr grosse menge von Viech, also d(a)ß man bey ainem findet, zway od(er) drey Taussent schaff, bey hundert Stuetten, Khüee, oxen auch bey zwainzig Camellen, darnach d(a)ß vermögen bey ainem ist. Diß viech wirt so woll im wintter allß im Som-(m)er, mit graß in dem Vhelde ernehrt, die Thattern ackhern auch vnnd sähen nichts, sy khennen auch khain brott nicht, wann Inen ain Viech gestürbet, d(a)ß halten sy für d(a)ß best wildpretth,

103 r sagende, d(a)ß hat gott selbst geschlacht. Alle, füchß, wölff, die sy im Veldt schlag(en), fressen sy auff, khennen auch khain gellt, nur wenn die *Ciracas*chischen Tattern zu Inen mit Tuech vnnd leinwat khom(m)en, so geben sy Innen darfür Schepse, Khüee ochsen. Wann sy ain Viech geschinden, so machen sy auß der hautt ainen sackh, giessen die Milch, welche sy von Khüehen schaffen, vnnd Cameln melckhen, in demselben, lassen sy also dar Inn, sawren, welche nachdem sy geraindt, seigen d(a)ß molckhen herunder, schieten d(a)ß annder auff Ire Vilzen darauff sy schlaffen lassen es also in der Sonnen dürren, dann sy haben alda gar khain holz, darauß sy gefeß machen khunden, auch wann sy es gleich hetten, doch wurden sy es doch nit mit sich füeren khönen. Wann sy auch was schiessen od(er) ain gestorben Viech khriegen, so zerschinden sy d(a)ß fleisch in gar dinne lendigiste stückhlin, schier wie Rhüemen, vnnd deuren es also in der lufft vnnd Sonne, diß also von der Sonne gedörte Fleisch vnd milch halt(en) sy es auf dem winter, vnnd essen es auf jene Zeit, dann sy haben khain holz, dabey sy windter zeit khochen khünden. Im Somer so kochen sy ja ettwas bey dürrem graß, od(er) Khüe dreckh aber leben ja am maisten von Mülch, sy machen Inen hütten, od(er) heuser auß Schaff od(er) Camel vilz, vnnder denen wonen sy, haben khain gewisse bleibende stelle, dann heut sind sy alhie, vnnd nachdem sy d(a)ß graß außgehutt, ziehen sy also weitter mit sambt Iren Hauffen vnnd Reichthumb(en).

Eß ist bey Innen ain grosser vnd reicher Herr, der auf zween

103 v zween wägen sein behaussung haußrath vnnd hab laden muess, ain yeder wagen hat zway Reder, in welchen nur Camell, vnnd nicht rosse ziehen, vnnder Zeiten Ochssen aber selten.

Anno 1562 haben die Moscowitter in Ire Horde ⟨(ain Horde ist ain samlung viler Tattern aine ist sterckher dann die annder, darnach sy sich gemehrt haben, aine hat sechzehen zwainzig dreissig auch hundert Tausent Tattern)⟩ auß *Astracan* mit 20 000 Mann ain außfall gethann zu Roß, vnnd all Ir viech wegg getriben, welches Jar ain solcher grosser Hunger bey Innen gewest ist, d(a)ß wo ain Sohn ain allten vatter gehabt, denselbigen getödtet, gethailet vnnd gefressen, auch ain annder Khünder, Brueder etc. welche vor Hunger gestorben, auch begraben waren, wider außgegrab(en) vnnd gefressen. Aber yezt daß sy wider zunemen machen leben sy wie d(a)ß Viech sich mehrende. Ainer mag sovil weiber haben, allß er Ir ernehren khann.

Von den gottlossen Tattern, wie wir seind weckh khom(m)en, seindt wir zween Tag in felden gewest one wasser, den dritten seind wir zu ainem stinckhichten vnnd madichten wasser khom(m)en, alda wir auch khain essen gehabt vnnd grosse *miseriam* erleiden haben müessen.

Von dannen seindt wir khomen zu ainem guetten vnd siessen Sehe, da wir vnnß *Victualia* bey den Casanischen Tattern, die sich über d(a)ß wasser *Volga* gesetzt vnd auß der *Mosca* vom

104 r vom *Moscowitter* abgefallen, vnnd in d(a)ß Türggische Tatterische Heer gelauffen, gekhaufft haben. Den morgen darnach haben wir die roß bey einem guetten Sehe getrenckht, vnnd seind geritten in d(a)ß Türggische vnnd Tatterische läger, welches vnnß begegnet ist im ersten nachtläger, nachdem es von *Astracan* ist wegg gezogen.

Diß volckh hat der Turggisch Kaiser *Sulthan Selym* außgerüsst auß Constantinopel zu wasser vnd landt wider den gross Fürsten auß der *Mosca* den 20. *Martij* 1579 [sic!, recte: 1569] Jare, welches Volckh gewest ist 25 Tausent Vllafinckher, d(a)ß ist Seldner, die der Türckhisch Kaiser besöldet, zu roß, vnnd drey Tausent *Janizarn* zu fuess.

Der Turckh hat auch beuolhen gehabt dem Tatterischen *Praecop*ischen Kayser *Dauleth gierej* genannt, mit allen orden sich zu rüsten, vnnd mitsambt dem Türggischen Volckh vor *Astracan* d(a)ß Moscowittische Schloß zu ziehen, deß Tatterischen Kaisers soll gewest sein achtzig Taussent mann. Derselbig Tatterische Kais(er) *Daulethgierej* hat mit sich gehabt vier Söhne, der elter hat gehaisen *Machmetgierej*, ⟨der vngeuor vor 4 Jaren in Hungern mit dem Türckhen gewest.⟩ der ander *Alleigierej*, der dritt *Cassaigierej*, der viert *Saditgierej*.[42] Derselb *Saditgierej* ist der *Nohaini*schen Tattern den sy vor einem Jar zu ainem Herren angenom(m)en haben, Kayser. Diser Nohainischen Tattern

sollen souil sein, d(a)ß sy alle Tag dreissig Taussent mann zu Roß fertig sein khönnen.

Über d(a)ß Türggische raissige Volckh hat der Türgg zu ainem oberst(en) gemacht den *Cassan Bassam, Caphischen Boglerboeg*, neben *Cassan*

104 v *Bassa*, hat er Sechs *Sanciacken* geschickht, drey *Vrumelische* vnnd drey *Anatoli*sche, den ersten *Vrumali*schen *Sanciacken** hat man genennt *Januschbeck*, der ain *Sensiack* von *Selistria* geweßt ist, den anndern *Achmetbeck Senciack* von *Niegolin*, den dritten *Alaybeck* von *Constandill Senciack* Auß der *Anatuli*schen hat man den ersten *Sensiack* genennt *Alaybeck*, ist *Czorani*scher *Sensiack* gewest, den anndern *Helesbeck*, *Amasiani*scher *Sensiack*, den dritten *Memybeck* von *Marssuw Sensiack*.[43]

Aber die drey Taussent *Janizern*, die zu fueß mit Rorer gewest, ist ain oberster gewest, *Feliack Sagarzzie Bassa*.[44] Groß geschüz haben die Türggen nicht mehr gehabt, ein undt dreissig valckhanetl vnnd zweey Maurbrecher, an welchen zwaien stuckhen vnnder Zeiten gezogen haben, zehen par, bißweilen auch zwelff par Camelln, die Tattern aber haben bey Inen gehabt. Zwelff Falckhanntl, vnnd ain groß stuckh, welches auf Camelln gezogen.

Aber die Tattern ist ain oberster gewest Knaisch *Sulosbeck* Knaisch *Asay Sezinsky* vnnd *Mustafa*, deß Tatterischen Kaisers Rath,[45] die drey pflegen die Tattern, wan es von notten ist in die Schlacht ordnung zu ordnen.

Daß Türggisch Hör, nachdem es von *Constantinopl* ist außgezog(en), hat sichs baldt zu *Sachzj* bey der Walachischen Greniz über die Tonaw gesetzt vnnd stetts in weiden felden, biß zu dem fluß Borysthenes, oder Dnieper gezogen. Von Dnieper hetten sy den geraden weg durch die *Precopi*sche herde auff *Astracan* ziehen sollen. Aber der Tatterische Kaiser, ob er gleich

105 r deß Türggischen Kaisers vnnderthan ist, hatt sy nicht wellen durchlassen, darumb haben sy muessen zu ruckhe zu dem *Thahim*schen auch weissenburgischen *Sensiack* schickhen, der hatt Innen ainen Tattern mit namen *Siendzia*, der ettlich hund(er)t Roß vnnder Ime gehabt, zuegeben, vnnd sye nachdem sy sich über den Dnieper od(er) *Borysthenem* bey der stellen mit namen *Kotzkuff*,[46] hetten über geschwemet biß zu dem fluß *Tanai* gefüert hat, alles in wüesten vhelden, also d(a)ß die Türckhen, allen Prouiandt, denen sy gegen *Astercan* auff Camelln, Maull Össl vnnd roß auffgeladen hatten, ehe sy gegen *Asac* khomen verzert haben.

Zu *Ossow* oder *Asack* haben sy mit vil Prouiandt, allß sy bederftt bekhom(m)en khonnen, ehe sy aber geen *Asack* khom(m)en, haben sy ezlich mal schwemen müessen. vber vil flüsß vnd Sehe wasser, alda zu *Asack* ist der Tatterische hauf zu den Türckhen khom(m)en. Nachdem sy alda zehen Tag

* *Marginalia:* Ein Saenciack ist ain Statthalter

mit Iren rossen geruehet, haben sy auf dieselbigen, auch auf die Camell vnnd Maulässel Prouiandt geladen, vnnd seindt zu gleich die Türckhen vnd thatern auf *Astrakan* geraiset.

Armada der Türckhen zu Wasser

Diser *Soldan Selym*, Türckhischer Kaiser, hat im Monat *April* ain *Armadam* zu wasser außgerüsst von hundert vnnd fünffzig Galleen vnnd Botten, auf welchen gewest seindt fünff Taussent *Janizärn* mit lanngen Rören, vnnd drey Taussent bösßleuth, welche auf den Galleen gearbeitet haben. Über welche ain oberster geweßt ist *Misterley Capitan*,[47] ain beschriener

105 v Türggischer Heldt, auf den Galleen ist ain grosser Überfluß Prouiandt gewest, welchen man den raissigen Zeug hat auf *Astracan* nachgefüert, auf denen haben sy auch gehabt manicherlay Instrument, damit sy dem Berg *Berewloka* hetten graben sollen, welcher berg ligt zwischen dem fluß *Tanaj* vnnd dem fluß *Volga*. *Volga* wirdt auf Türggisch genennt *Edilssu*, der berg aber *Vlchwarcharschi*,[48] *Mosco*wittisch aber *Perewloka* auff teutsch Schlepberg, darumb(en), d(a)ß die Moscowittischen *Cosacken* pflegen Ire Schiff vnnd Botten über den Berg zu schleppen, von dem fluß *Volga* biß zu dem fluß *Tanais*, alda sy in den schiffen vmb Asaw wasser vnnder zu straiffen pflegen.

Die Höhe deß Bergs zwischen den wassern ist vierthalbe grosse meilen auff baiden seitten, d(a)ß ist berg auff vnnd ein, also wa er am niderigisten, ist er siben meilen hoch.

Von *Asow* wasser auf, seind die Türggen zu dem Berg gefaren zween Monat lang, wie sy ins landt vnd(er) den Perg getreten, haben sy Ire Walzen gewonnen, auf welchen sy die Galleen, mit dem was darauf geweesen, über den Berg walzen, vnnd zu lanndt fortt bringen hetten sollen. Inn dem werden die Türggen von ettlich Taussent Moscowitt(er) überfallen, sehr beschedigt, vnnd zerströet, daß die übrigen khaum daruon khom(m)en, welcher so wenig worden ist, d(a)ß Ir von Acht Tausent khaum zway Taussent fünffhund(er)t dann(en) khom(m)en sein.

106 r Die Türggen haben Innen vorgesezt gehabt, daß wa sy die Schiff über den Berg bracht hetten. So hetten sy wellen den Perg von Innerseitten von der *Volga* anheben durch zugraben vnd die *Volgam* in den *Tanaim* zu bringen, welches sy nimermer enden khönnen. Aber nachdem abschreckhen seind sy wid(er) zu ruckh mit Iren übrigen Schiffen gegen Asack gezogen. Die *Mosko*wittischen *Cosacken*, welcher vngefar 1500 seindt Inen auf khlainen schiffen stetts nachgefaren, offt lerm angericht, schaden gethan, auch vnnder zeitten auß dem Röricht von vornen vnnd hinden angegriffen. Auch nach den 16 Sept(embris) da wir vnnß haben sollen vber den Arm *Dunietz* deß fluß *Tanais*

XVIII

schwemen, seind veuer sehen . . . chen die Moskowittischen *Kasacken* noch alda gewest, nit weit von dem Türggischen Schloß *Asack*, die wier nicht gekhant sonnder haben gedacht, es weren die vnnserigen, d(a)ß ist Tattern od(er) Türgg(en), haben auf sy geschrien, vnnd gellt geben wellen. Sy wolten vnß überfüeren. Aber vnnsere füerrer haben sy endtlich blotz erkhent, darumben wir vnnß haben wollversehen müessen. Eß ist auch vnnser füerrer also kheckh geweesen, d(a)ß er sein roß angestochen, neben dem fluß hinauf gerandt, vnnd gesehen ob der Moskowitter vil weren. Wie er vermerckht, d(a)ß Ir mehr weren die auff vnnß gewarttet hetten, haben wir vnnß baldt von dannen gemacht, sy aber vnnß nachgeeylt vnnd hetten vnnß gar baldt erjagt, dann wir hetten müede Roß. So seindt auch neben dem wasser die weg also mosicht, die man nicht vmbziehen khan, d(a)ß vnnsere roß über die Knie in dj erden stetts eingefallen seindt. Aber haben von vnnß endtlich gelassen

106 v vnnd die Türggische Galleen zum letzten mal zwo meil von *Asack* angegriffen, vil Türggen erschlagen, vil auß Iren Rören beschedigt, vnnd gar biß vor d(a)ß Schloß nachgejagt. der öberste haubtman über die *Janizarn Misserley* wie Er zum Schloß *Asack* khomen, hat er die Maurbrech(er) vnnd d(a)ß annder geschüz von den Galleen abnemen lassen, auch d(a)ß Puluer, welches gewest ist mehr den 1500 Centner. Diß Puluer ist den letsten Septembris auß verwarlossung von einem heußlein, welches gebrandt hat, ausgegangen an menschen vnnd im Schloß grossen schaden gethan. Also ist zu grundt ausgetilgt, waß sich auff dißmal zu wasser gerüsst hat.

Die Moskowittischen *Casacken*, welche zu wasser dem Türggen nachgeuolgt waren, haben wie sy seindt wasser auff gefar(en) hinder den Tattern vnd Türckhen d(a)ß graß angezündt, auch wa Sehe wasser vnnd Prünnen gewest, so haben sy die Moskowitter vmb die selbige zu rings herumb geböset od(er) gebrennt vnnd d(a)ß darumb, d(a)ß alda die Türckhen vnd Tattern wid(er) zu ruckh ziehen nicht khönnden. Zum annd(er)n d(a)ß man wid(er) von dem Türggischen Schloß *Asack* wid(er) von einer Tatterischen Hörden khainen Prouiandt nach notturft zuefüeren khöndten.

Der Türckhische vnnd Tatterische Raissige hauff, die in den wüesten felden gezogen seindt, seindt zwar den 5. Septemb(ri)s an d(a)ß *Astracanische* Schloß khom(m)en, aber hab(en) khainen nahen Zuetritt zum Schloß haben khönnen. vnnd d(a)ß wegen der grösse deß flusß *Volga*, der daß

107 r schloß vmbflossen hat. So war d(a)ß schloß auch woll mit geschüz versehen, auch sonst wollverwartt, alda haben sich die Türggen gelegert, ganzer acht tag nichts angefanngen. Vnnd wie sy am sicheristen gewest seindt, sich khains vheinds beforth seindt den 12 Septembris die Moskowitter 6000 starckh hinauß auf schiffen, botten vnnd galleen gefallen, über welchen ain oberster gewest ist *Serebruy*,[49] ein Moskowittischer Haubtman, die Türgkhen vnnd

Tattern in Iren lagern ehe es Tag worden, überfallen, ainen grossen schaden gethan vnnd mit gewapneter Hanndt dauon ins schloß khom(m)en.

Nachdem sy die Türckhen vnd Tattern also vberfallen auch schon vor gewiß gewist, d(a)ß daß fuess uolckh, Armada, geschüz, vnnd annd(er)er Zeug, daß den *Tanais* hinauff von Türggen gefüert worden, damit man d(a)ß schloß hette stürmen vnd erobern sollen, nicht nachkhommen wurde, sonnder schon vmbkhommen were, auch d(a)ß sy zusehen, d(a)ß grosser mangl an Prouiandt gewest, haben die Tattern vnnd sonnd(er)lich die Türggen der belegerung daß schloß gelassen, weren auch baldt gar daruon zu ruckh gezogen, wann sy die Tattern nicht überredt hetten, daß man d(a)ß schloß aufs new beleg(er)n vnnd d(a)ß alte Schloß *Astracan* welches zwo meil oberhalb am wass(er) von dem jezigen Schloß ligt, zu pawen anheben soldt.

Alda haben sich auch ezlich 1000 Tattern über d(a)ß wasser in die Moscaw gemacht, Prouiandt zuhalben, aber eß ist khainer zuruckh khom(m)en, sond(er) seindt alle alda von den Moskowitt(er)n erlegt word(en).

107 v Die Türggen vnnd Tattern nachdem sy zum and(er)n mal vor *Astracan* eilff Tag gelegen, vnnd d(a)ß allte Schloß mit Ruetten vnnd erden gebawet, hat Inen Prouiandt gemanglet, haben von der belegernus ablassen, vnnd was sy an dem allten schloß gebawet, anzünden müessten, seindt entlich mit grossem schaden abgezogen den 27 Septembris.

Die gannzen 22 Tage, welche sy da gelegen, nichts mehr ausgericht, nur d(a)ß sy ezliche heuser vor *Astracan* vnd d(a)ß der Schloß, welches sy selber gebawet, angezündt haben wie sy zu ruckh seindt gezogen, seindt wir den annd(er)n Tag zu Inen khomen, alda hat der Türggisch Czauss, welcher mit mir geraißt, die brieff dem grossen Tattarischen Kayser vnnd dem Kapfnischen *Beglerbeg* überanttwortet.

Der Türckhen Abzug von Astracan

Deß morgens fruee, ehe es Tag gewest, hat man vor deß oberisten Gezelt angehoben Inn die dunne Trumetten zu blasen, nach welchem aufblasen, seindt die Camell vnd wagen zuuor anganngen. Wie es aber nur ain wenig getaget, hat man in anndere Trometen geblasen, auff türgkhischen *Gurmen* gepfiffen, vnnd horbauckhen geschlag(en). Nachdem hat sich der gannze hauffen gerüeret, vnnd daruon gemacht.

Zum ersten seind gezogen die *Spahy*, d(a)ß ist die Söldner

108 r oder Edlleuth ain ziemlich grosser hauffen, hinder Innen d(a)ß geschüz mit aller Zuegehörung, daß ist die gannze *Artolerey* diß alles haben Camell gezogen, auff den seitten, seindt on alle ordnung ganngen Camell, Maulessel vnd Pferde, auf welchen man den prouiandt zutragen hat pflegen, darnach die *Janitzarn* mit lanngen Roren, ettliche zu Roß ettliche zu fueß.

Hinder den *Sulacken* ist der *Beglerbeg* selbst geritten. Vor ein hat man bey dreissig schöner, wolgezierter, vnd costlich gezierte Roß an der hanndt gefüert, nachdem Rossen seindt geritten alle *Sensiacken*, die oben geschriben seindt, hind(er) Innen der Oberste selbst mit aigner Person, zu nechst nach Im tregt man an statt aines fendleins od(er) veldt zaichens ainen weissen Roßschwanz, mit schöner arbait geziert, auch anndere drey seer grosse fannen von rottem karteckhen. Inn einem Jeglichen mag gewest sein bei 100 Elln, aber seindt vmb den Schafft geschlagen gewest, welchen man nimer außschlegt od(er) schweben lasset, nur zu ainer Schlacht. Dise Ire vhendlin haben zu öberste khaine eyssen, nur ain groß herz von goldt gemacht, am herzen hangen zimliche Seckhlin von gulden stuckh. Inn denen ist auf papier geschriben Ire gesez, vom *Machomet* Innen übergeben, wann sy mit Irem vheindt ainem, ain schlacht thuen wellen, so lassen sy dise Panne fliegen, auf d(a)ß ain yeder der sy, vnnd Ir geschriben gesez sihet, seinen halß vmb den Machometischen glauben zugeb(en) nicht sparet. Die fanen füeren, deß obersten *Czaussen* od(er)

108 v *Secretary* mit ainem Rotten Scharlach od(er) Tuech, vber vnd vnnder ainem Arm, zwerch gegiertet, hinder denen seindt ganngen Trometer, mit heerbauckhen. Nach denen wnd(er) acht Fanne, ain yeder annder farben, hinder den fannen ain grosser hauff *Speio*, od(er) edlleuth. Die *Czaussen* deß oberisten seindt vmbgeritten vnnd allen gewehret, nahe an den obersten zu reitten, auch nicht zu dem Fane da Ir gesez gehanng(en). Darnach anndere hauffen seindt on alle ordnung, yezt fornen, Jezt hinden, yezt in der mitten geritt(en).

Auffs Nachtläger wann sy khom(m)en, so geben alle *Sansiacken* vnnd *Spahy* dem öberisten d(a)ß Gelait, biß in sein gezelt, alda sy von Rossen zusteigen, vnnd dem Oberisten mit dem khopf ain wenig zu naigen pflegen,auch pflegen sy alle abendt, wenn es beginnet fünster zu werden. mit heller stim zu schreyen. *Hala Hala, hala, Hay*, d(a)ß ist gott erbarm dich vnnser.[50] Nachdem wirdt es so still im lager, d(a)ß, wan man gleich an dasselbig kheme, so wurde man doch nichts hören.

Hat ainer mit dem anndern waß zu reden so mueß er Ims gemölich einraumen, alle fewr auß leschen, die Roß welche auff dem graß gewest sein, bey Tag beschickh(en), vnnd dieselben fest anbinden. Hat auch ainer Romorische Rosß od(er) Henngst so hat er sy mit den füessen zusam(m)en spannen, vnnd also weitt voneinannder bind(en), d(a)ß sy einannd(er) nicht erreichen vnd nicht schnarchen haben khonen.

109 r Ist ainer deß vermögens gewest, d(a)ß er seinen rossen gerst(en) oder habern geben hat khonnen, so haben sy all ain Stundt Inen d(a)ß fuetter geben muessen.

Sy haben khain wagen purg nur vmb den öbersten selbst gehabt aber

wann sy sich deß vheindts befaaren, so vmbsezen sy sich mit Camelln. Ir geschüz war gemaingelich zümlich weitt vom obersten, bey den *Janizarn*, aber seer vnordenlich.

Hinder dem Obristen Quarttiermaister füeret man auch ain fenndlin, von einem Roß Schwanz, wie bey dem Obrist(en). Diser, wann er auf die Stelle deß Lagers khombt, so steckht er denn Fhannen ein, wo der oberste sein gezelt haben soll, die anndern legern sich herumb nach Iren gefallen, doch wan es einer haben khan, zu negst bey dem wasser.

Der Tattern breuch im abziehen

Der Tattrisch Kaiser mit seinen Sohnen ist also von *Astracan* gezogen, der elteste deß Tattern Sohn *Machmetgierey*, ist den Türckhen zehnntausent starckh nachgezogen, vnnd den Hinnderhalt gehallt(en). Der annd(er) sein Sohn *Aleygieroy* hat pflegen voranzuziehen mit drey Zehen Tausent außerleßnen Mannen. *Kazaigierey* ist bey deß Vattern volckhs allweg ain halbe meil von dem Türggischen Höre gezogen. *Saditgieroy* mit 30 Taussent Nohaischer Tattern, hat Inen gehabt die recht seitt ann der flügel.

Knaz Arey Sersynsky mit seinem Sohn *Dzialall* hatt

109 v Innen gehabt den linckhen, der pflegt vnnder seinem beuelch zu haben ezlich Tausent.

Knaz Sulesbeck ist ain öberster deß Türggischen Kais(er)s der ordnet das khriegs uolckh zur schlacht mit dem *Mustaffa* des Tatters Rath,[51] auch ordnet er die auf den grossen Tartarischen Kaiser wartten.

Der Tatter zeucht allwegen ain halbe meil für den Türckh(en) wann er soll auf sein. So schlecht man sehr in ain Tvrckhische drumel mit ainem grossen schlegel, alda rüsstet man sich, darnach in einer stunden blest man in ain Moskowittische Trumetten, wie dann hunden, bald darnach sezen sy sich auf die Roß, zu dem fannen welcher vier sein.

Der Tatter hat auch ainen solchen rotten fanen, wie d(er) Türgg mit ainem guldinen Herz, auf welchem Ir gesez geschrib(en) ist von *Machomet* dann sy hallten ainen glauben mit den Turckhen, disen Fahne halt man stetts in deß Tattern gezelt, in grossen ehren, welchen Man so man auß tregt, so volgt der Thater nach, vnnd sezet sich aufs Roß wann er zeucht so volgen Ime seine Sohne zu negst nach vnnd zwischen Innen ist der Fhan mit dem gesez, welch(es) vmbwunden ist, vnnd wirdt nicht aufgethan, nur zum ernnst od(er) zur nott.

Für seinen Hauffen fürtt man auch vier Fhanne, aine von Rotter vnnd gelber, den anndern von Rott vnd weisser den dritten gar von weisser Hardeckh, aber diser hat

XVIII

110 r drey grinner Zippel, vnnd oben ist ain schwarzer Roß schwannz, vnnd d(a)ß ist d(a)ß veldt zaichen, daß man bey dem Tatterischen Kaiser tregt. Der vierte Fahn ist gar von rotter khardeckhen, mit ainem guldinen Apffel, der Fhan ist durchauß mit guldiner Arabisch(er) schrifft gemahlet, die Schrifft ist sein nam(m)en, vnnd sein reim, vnnd d(a)ß seindt seine aigne Fannen, vnnder denen er auch vnnder der vheinde leger zeucht. Auch füeret man für demselben Tattarisch(en) Kaiser bey 15 rosß an der hanndt, in schönen Warzackhen d(a)ß ist Tatterische Sattel gesattelt.

Nachdem Kaiser zeucht ain grosser hauff Tattern, ain yed(er) hat in der hanndt zu fünff od(er) sechs Roß.

Ann deß ersten Roßes auf welchem ain yeder Tatter selbst Reittet, schwannz, ist d(a)ß annd(er) mit dem Zaum angebunden vnnd allso die annd(er)n alle.

Nachdem hauffen füeret man zehen Falckhenetl mit aller zugehorung, bey dem geschüz geen zu fueß ezlich hund(er)t schüzen, seindt alles *Pietihorische*, d(a)ß ist, fünffbergische vnnd Circaschische Tattern mit Schwam Rören, die hab(en) nur vor dreyen Jaren hero zu schiessen gelernet. Hind(er) denen geen enntlich die wagen, in welchen alles Cammeln ziehen, ain yeder wag(en) hat nur zway Rader.

Anndere hauffen der Tattern ziehen nach den stutten auch hinden vnnd fornen, von hindten zue, ain wenig nach d(er) stutt seindt Ir souil gewest, d(a)ß sy ain grosses veldt bedeckht

110 v d(a)ß man sy auch wan man gleich auf ainer *Mogila*, (d(a)ß ist auf ainem hohen geschütten berg aines hauß hoch darund(er) grosse herren auf haidnische artt begraben ligen) gewest ist, nicht hat übersehen khonnen, haben nicht souil überall leuth bey Innen, allß sy Rosß haben, darnach so treiben sy ain groß gestüett von Rossen mit sich, von weegen der Milch, daruon sy sich nehren. Also d(a)ß man selten ein *Murza* od(er) Herr(en) der nicht ain feldin od(er) fünffzig auch 100 auch 200 vnnd mehr hett, vnnd durch d(a)ß ist Ir herauff seer groß anzusehen.

Deß Thattern Söhnne alle haben ein yeder sein besonnd(er) feldt zaichen, auch füeret man ainen Rosßschwanz in ainem yedern hauffen. Doch ein yeder ist sonnderlicher farben. Sy ziehen unnd(er) einand(er) on alle ordnung, wo ainer will alda mag er reitten, ist ain übel gerüst volckh, haben auch nit alle vnnd khaum die helffte bögen vnd Pfeill, khaine Pannzer, vil wenig(er) plechene rüsstung, schleppen sich nur in Iren Schiermengen, d(a)ß ist groben weissen Röckh daher, wer khain wehr hat der pündt an ainen Prügel aines Pferdts, vnnd khobeln knochen, mit dem zeucht er dahin.

Mit nichts annders blindern sy frembdte lannder, den nur mit Irer geschwindigkhait inn Ziehen, darnach so khonnen sy grosse noth aussteen, also d(a)ß sy woll drey Tag

111 r one Wasser vnnd essen khönnen wartten. Ire Roß auch sy selbst in der Noth, wann sy nur graß, auf welchen der Taw noch ligt, sich befressen, so khünden sy wann sy gleich feinden lender blindern, in 24 stund(en) 16 meilen mit Irem grossen hauffen vorbringen, vnnd wol tawren.

Ein yeder Tatter auch wan er gleich ein grosser Herr ist, fürt an der Hanndt vil Rosß, wie oben geschriben. Wann aines müed worden ist, so sezt er sich auf ain annders, will es seer schwach werden, so lest er es gar ligen, ist es aber was faist, so schneidt er Im die Gurgel ab, vnnd zerthailen d(a)ß fleisch, vnnd reissen es vnnder einannd(er) auß, wie die Hundt. Wie ich mit Innen geraiset bin, so hab ich bei Irem Kaiser den 1 Octobris Audienz gehabt, vnnd meines Herren der kun. Mtt. beuelch außgericht. Auf den morgen seindt sy all auf gewest, vnnd ganzer drey Tag khain wasser gehabt, den dritten Tag nach der Sonnen vnnd(er)ganng seindt sie zu ainem gesalzenem Sehe khom-(m)en. Sy die Tattern haben sich gelegert, ann ainer seitten deß Sehs, die Türgg(en) an der anndern seitten, also d(a)ß sy d(a)ß wasser auß dem Sehe vast gar außgesoffen hetten.

Den viertten *Octobris* seindt sy aufgewest, one Wass(er) gezogen, aber den fünfften auf ain guett nachtleg(er)

111 v khom(m)en, zu ainem guetten wasser zwischen zwayen sehen, welche man *Burna Kiessiena*[52] nennet. Alda höben sich ann die grossen vnnd wüesten *Madziari*sch(en) velder,[53] auß welchen die yezigen Hungern solten khom(m)en sein. Inn denen felden haben sy inn grossem ellend ziehen müessen, dann die Moskowitter hetten d(a)ß graß zuuor angezündt, vnnd alles abgepranndt. So hat auch der öberste Nohaische Tatter, der die Türgg(en) nach seinem willen gefüert hat, ain solche berednus mit dem Tatterischen Kaiser haimlich gehabt, das er die Türckhen in so wüsten felden, da weder wasser noch ichts annders gewest, füeren solte, hat den obristen Türckhischen Bascha über redt, d(a)ß er in vnnd seine Türgkhen in guetten weeg vnnd solche felder, da wasser vnnd wildt zur nahrung gehorig genueg wer, füeren wollt, vnnd wer nichts mehr auß dem weeg v. *Astracan* auf *Asow* zue, dann vier Tagraissen. Aber es ist alles falsch gewest, dann wie sy seindt gezogen, so haben vnnder Zeitten in fünff Tagen khain wasser gehabt, d(a)ß also die Türckhen Ire roß zum ersten müed vnnd madt worden, darnach vmbgefallen vnnd gestorben, auch der Türckhen selbst wenig herauß khom(m)en. Vil Türckh(en) haben die Tattern selbst angegriffen, beraubt vnd erschlag(en). Vil seindt aus Hung(er) vnnd durst verschmachet, vnd sterben müessen. Die Roß, die den Türckhen seindt müedt

112 r worden, haben die Nohaischen Tattern genom(m)en, manchlichen hinden nach getriben bey der Nacht auff dem Taw gewaidet. Die Türckhen aber haben Ire Roß die nacht ins graß vnnd Taw nicht treiben dorffen, dann die Tattern haben Innen dieselben gestollen vnnd daruon in wüesste felder ge-

triben. Darumb haben die Türckh(en) Ire Rosß für Inen gezelten gehalt(en), vnnd Innen bey Tage trewge od(er) dürre graß bereitten müessen.

Der Türgkhen haben in die Madziarische felder khain lust gehabt, darumb d(a)ß sy gehört, d(a)ß in den feldern grosse schlanngen, vnnd annder manicherlay vngezifer vil were. Aber die Tattern haben innen vhein d(a)ß außreden khonnen, d(a)ß jezt zu der Zeit, der winter vnd kheldte herzu kheme, da dann d(a)ß vngeziffer in die erden kreuchet. Aber da wir seindt dahin khomen, haben wir dessen erschrockhlich vil vnnd groß angetroffen, ettliche so dickh allß aines Mannß schenckhel ist. Seindt auch über auß seer lanng geweesen, alda in ezlichen stellen, sonnderlich wo es wenig nidrig, od(er) ain gemöß gewest, haben wir der schlanngen Heutter souil gesehen, dessen sich seer zuuerwundern, so dickh haben sy aneinander geleg(en), d(a)ß daß graß daruon weiß anzusehen gewest, wie man es mit einem weissen Tuech vberzogen hette. Die Tattern vnnd Türckhen haben alle nacht in Irem leger vil

112 v grosser vnd schrockhlicher schlanngen erschlagen. Daß haben mir die Tattern auch gesagt, d(a)ß man in die Felde auch mit vil hundert rossen nicht sicher ziehen khan. Ob man gleich vür den wilden Thatern, welche Nohaysche Tattern seind, sicher wer, so khonndt man doch nicht herdurch wegen deß vngeziffers.

Die Tattern, wann sy von lust khurzweil, od(er) wildpredt wegen in die felde auf die Jagten mit Jren bögen die wilden thier zu schiessen ziehen, so seindt Ir ettlich hund(er)t Rosß, wa sy die nacht ligen sollen, zünden sy d(a)ß graß an, alß waß von Nattern vnnd schlangen, nicht in die erden khan wirdt vom fewer verbrenndt. In die felder wie wir gezogen haben wir zu weilen in fünff Tagen khain wasser gehabt.

Denn 7. Octobris haben wir gelegen bey *Madiaris*chen *Mogielen* onne wasser, alda noch heut vil mauren steen von Ziegeln gemaurt, wa zuuor Madiarische haidnische Khürchen gewest sein. Alda ist der wilden thier vil, allß Roß, Schwein, Rehe etc.

Wie wir drey Tag on wasser seind gewest, seind wir den 4. Tag zu ainem truckhnen *Potock* od(er) Strom, da vor Zeiten ain fluß gewest ist, khom(m)en. Aber den Tag ehe wir dahin khom(m)en, seindt der Türgkhen vil Rosß

113 r vnnder weegen beliben, vnnd vil Türckhen auß dursst gestorben. Alda ist ain gemaurte khürch von ziegln. Die Tattern sagten es were alda d(a)ß grab *Tamarlanj*. Eß seindt alda drey guette prüne, sonnder nicht groß. Von denen haben die Nohaischen Tattern gewüst, darumb sy zuuorn geeylet, vnnd d(a)ß wasser vast gar, ehe wir mit den hauff(en) hernach khom(m)en außgesoffen. Zu dem übrigen wasser wie mann sich seer getrungen, seind die Türggen vnd Tatteren, seer vneinß, vnnd auf baiden thailen vil erschlag(en) worden. Darnach hat man müessen nach wasser graben mit der Jauch, haben sy sich vnnd

Ire Roß ain wenig getailet, doch khaum der dritte thail wasser bekhom(m)en. Von deßwegen seindt wir bey der nacht in Khüllen aufgewest, haben wid(er) gannzer zween Tag khain wasser gehabt, den dritten Tag seind wir zu ainem gesumb khomen. Alda war d(a)ß wasser gar bidter vnnd gesalzen. Aber auß grossem durst, haben es die roß vnd menschen trinckhen müessen. Den Tag hat mir vnnd den meinen der Türckhische Kaiser ain huett Zuckher geschickht, damit ich d(a)ß wasser hab siesser gemacht. Dahin ist die Zeitung khomen gewest, daß fünffhundert der ansehenlichisten Türckhen vmbkhom(m)en weren, welche von einem Tattern verfüert seindt gewest, der hat den Türckhen fürgegeb(en), er wüsste ettliche schonne vnnd guette Brünne od(er) wass(er)

113 v aus dem weg. Sy wolten Ime ain guett geschenckh geb(en) so wolt er sy dahin füeren, hat also von den 500 die vornemen herren gewest, groß guet vnnd gellt, sond(er)lich aber costliche khlaider bekhomen, sy ins vheldt gefüert da er khain wasser nit hat finden khunden, ist er auß forcht mit list von Innen entlauffen, die 500 Türckhen nachdem sy khainen fürher gehabt, vnnd nicht gewist, wo auß, noch ein, seindt alle vast ankhom(m)en, allain vier welche Camelln gehabt seindt auff demselb(en) Inns lager khom(m)en, alles waß Innen begegnet, wie sy Irre geritten, die anndern die nicht Camelln gehabt, vmbkhom(m)en weren, angezaigt. Von dem gesumpffe seind wir im anndern Tag zu ainem fliessenden Sehe khom(m)en, welches man auff Tattarisch *Bibala Kulausch*[54] nennet, d(a)ß ist die überfuert, in welchem weil guett wasser gewest, haben wir mit vnnsern Rossen den gannzen geruehet. Auf den morgen gannz fruee biß auf den Abendt haben wir khain wasser in vnns(er)m Tattarischen Leger gehabt, im Türckhischen hat man grüeb(en) gemacht, darmit d(a)ß wasser welches den Tag geregnet geflossen war. Den Tag haben die Tattern deß Veldt Obersten zu *Capffa Basses* Tochtermann beraubt vnnd erschlag(en). Diser hat sich besser Beguemigkhait gebrauchen wellen. hat auf *Asack* od(er) *Asow* mit 40

114 r Rossen vnnd also vil guetter *Janacken* zuuoran begeb(en) vnnd waß vonnötten gewest wer, einkhauffen wellen. Die Tattern haben alle Türckhen, welche nur hind(er) stellig ain verbliben, od(er) ja voran haben ziehen wellen, baldt beraubt vnnd erschlagen, darumb ich vnnd der *Chauss* ob wir gleich hetten eher khomen khomen. So haben wir vnnß doch nicht voran wagen, sonnd(er) hunger vnnd noth im Leger leiden müessten. Die Türckischen Roß seind vast alle alda gestorben, die vnnßerigen auch die Tatterischen sehr madt vnd schwach worden, biß wir zu nacht zu ainem Sehe, welches *Zdiegerlick*[55] genanndt wirdt, khom(m)en vnnd alda vnnsere Roß erguickht, auch Zween gannzen Tag Innen alda ruehen müessen.

Alda haben die Türggen ainer vom annd(er) d(a)ß Brodt gekhaufft ein Centner dürres brotts, d(a)ß ist ain wenig mehr den vnsere drey sein zu 84

vngrische fl. zehen Erbaß kherner vor ein Asperlin, od(er) ain gl. ein *Kyla* mehl 20 vngrisch fl. ein *kila* ist vngeuor ain wenig gross(er) allß ain presslisch(es) Vierttl.[56]

Die d(a)ß prodt ver khaufft vnnd Innen d(a)ß gelt vast haben lieben lassen, seind dar nach vast alle erhungert, dann die Tattern hetten vnnß für gewiß zue gesagt wir

114 v wurden in drey Tagen gegen Asack, da allerlay notturft genueg wer, khomen, seind aber khaum den 7. Tag dahin ankhom(m)en.

Wie wir bey demselben Sehe *Dziegerlick* gelegen, haben die Tattern bey 60 Türgkischer wagen, Camell vnnd Maulesel welche hünderstellig weren verbliben vnnd d(a)ß Sehe nit erraichen khönnen, angegriffen, geblindert, vnnd die Türckhen so darbey gewest erschlag(en). Bey dem Sehe hat der Tatterische Kaiser, alle vorneme Türggen die noch beliben, zu gast gehabt, vnnd wol tractiert, dann man hatt im alda, wie daheimen gewest allerlay vil noch gefüert, den annd(er)n Turckhen allen die nit haben sizen khönnen, hat man ainem yeden ainen bissen brodt abgethailt. Damit hat er vorgegeben, d(a)ß er alles, waß er von Prouiandt im Vorrath gehabt, vnnd(er) sy gethailt het. Aber diß hat er gethan, d(a)ß er sein verräterrey darmit bedeckhen wolt.

Vor dem Sehe seind wir deß annd(er)n Tags zu ainem and(er)n fliessenden wasser *sasik dziegerlick*[57] genant, da die Maziarischen Velder ein ende haben, khom(m)en. In den Velden seind noch vil mauren, deren wir Teglich vil gesehen, seindt zuuor alles Madiarische Khürchen gewest. Steen auch überall in Velden auf den gräben vil *antiquitates*, manne

115 r groß von stainen auß gehawen, seind aber alle mit moß bewachßen, die allten Tattern haben mir gesagt, d(a)ß sollen alda zuuor Cristen gewohnet haben, aber nicht sagen khonnen, waß für ein Volckh gewest sey, ob es *pietihorische* od(er) *Circausi*sche, die alda mit den wüesten feld(er) grenizen Tattern gewest seind, dann dise Tattern seind auch Cristen deß Griechischen od(er) Reussischen Glaubens. Wir seind in disen vhelden gannzer 14 Tag geraisset.

Den 19. octobris wie wir auß den Madziarischen felden khom(m)en, haben wir d(a)ß erste nachtlager zur wasser gehabt, die nacht hab ich mit deß Tattarischen Khaisers Rath ainem, dem *Mustaffa* ain gesprech von Ir Kun. Mt. soehne gehallten, vnnd vil mit Im geredt, daß der Herr *Alexander Waldrzka*,[58] der Schwedische marschalckh vnnd der Kun. Mt. zu dem Tattarischen Kayser abgesandter mochte loß werden, der ist von dem Tatter bey fünff füerttel Jaren aufgehalten, vnnd nit loßworden, biß es Innen den Tattern der Turckhisch Kaiser beuolh(en) hat.

Auf den morgen den 20. desselben Monats haben wir ein leger gehabt, an ainem clainen fluß, welchen man *Kugelinck* nennet.[59] Aber ehe wir dahin khom(m)en, seindt die vbrigen Türgkhischen Roß entlich gar müed word(en).

115 v vnnd vmbgefallen auch vil menschen vnnd(er) wegs gestorb(en) so jemmerlich, d(a)ß sy auß hunger vnnd durst nit baldt sterben haben khonnen, vnnd gebetten es wolt sich Ier jemandt erbarmen, vnnd sy vollendt Todt schlag(en) also d(a)ß vnns Cristen Irer auch erbarmet hat.

Disen Tag ist ain solcher grosser windt geweesen, d(a)ß er d(a)ß fueßuolckh denen die rosß gestorben waren, auch die so schwache Roß gehabt (wie sydann alle schwach gewest) vmbgefellt, daß man den Tag gar nit hat fort gekhonndt, welchen Tag wir gestorbene menschen, die für vnnß rhundt ein wenig gezogen, am weg Todt fund(en) haben 484 der roß aber vil mehr.

Weil aber d(a)ß Türggisch khriegsuolckh nit in ainem hauffen sonnder die breitte im Veldt gezogen ist so hab ich nicht alles wie es zuganngen, sehen khönnen, nicht desto wenig(er) aber hab ich glaubwürdig khundtschafft gehabt, d(a)ß eben also bey den anndern ergangen ist. Disen Tag nach mittag, ist ain grosser khalter regen khom(m)en der gannzer drey Tag gewertt hat, vnnd der hat dem Türggischen Khriegsuolckh vollendt daruon geholffen, dann die klaider vnd binden seind Inen also durchrechgnett, d(a)ß sy nit fortt gekhonndt. So war auch

116 r der weg ser khottig worden. Ich selber hab auff der ellenden Raiß khain großere nott gelitten, hab mir auch in dem ellendt mehr den Todt dann d(a)ß leben gegönnet, dann one d(a)ß wir hungrig gewest, so seindt wir von der khelte vnnd nesse also geplagt word(en), d(a)ß wir nit khainer weiß auß dem dürren grass khain fewr vnns haben machen khonnen. Vnnd wenn es nun ain wenig lennger gewehret, allsambt hetten auch die mechtigsten vmbkhom(m)en müessen. An dem oben geschribenen fluß wasser, seind wir drey Tag gegen *Asack* dann d(a)ß fluß fellt in *Tanaim* da d(a)ß Schloß *Asack*, wie offt geschriben, ligt, gezogen. Denn letzten Tag alß wir gegen *Asack* vmb khom(m)en seind vnnderwegs Todt bliben, nun an ainem weg da ich mit den Tattern gezogen 232 Personen, die in anndern wegen Todt gewest sein hab ich nit gewist, sonnder darnach gehört, Ir sollen auch so vil geweesen sein.

Zwischen disem flüß *Kugelnick* vnnd dem grossen fluß *Tanais*, geen die Nohaischen Tattern mit Irem viech in die wintterung, auff den Som(m)er ziehen sy wider auf die grossen felder auf die waid(en).

116 v Gegen *Asack* seind wir khommen den 23 octob(ri)s gegen abent, alda haben wir müessen an dem fluß *Tanais* bleiben, dann d(a)ß schloß ist khlain: so war auch wie oben geschriben, nach dem d(a)ß puluer war anganngen, zum thail abgeprendt. Da seind wir ettlich Tag still gelegen, vnnd vnnß *Victualien* eingekhaufft. Dahin seindt ettliche Türggen ankhom(m)en, welcher sich der Tattern erbarmet, vnnd sy auff Iren Rossen hiebracht hetten. Ettliche die noch gellt gehabt, haben Innen zwaar Rosß gemüettet gehabt, denen hat man einen geuzen gekhocht, vnnd dürr brodt gegeben haben also begierig

gefressen, daß Inen die Khopff vnd beuch bald anzufahen zu schwellen, seindt darnach alle wie die hundt die nacht gestorben, welche nacht ain grosse Khelte gewest, die Innen auch zum Todt geholffen, die anndern die noch bleiben, vnd gellt gehabt haben Innen auff den morgen prouiandt eingekhaufft vilen hat man auch vmb gotts willen gegeben, haben sich auffs möhr gesezt auf *Capffa* zugeseglt.

Den 27. Octob(ris) ist ain grosser Sturm auff dem Mohr entstannden, alle Galleen an strandt bracht derselben vnnd(er) einannd(er) erschlagen, vnnd waß darinen

117 r gewest erseufft, seind nur ettlich wenig Personen, die in einem khlainen podt gewest daruon khom(m)en.

Die vbrigen Türckhen welche nicht gestorben, derer vngefor bey 2000 Personen gewest, seindt mit dem obristen *Bassa* selbst, vnnd fünff *Sensiacken* zu *Asack* beliben vnnd deß Türggischen Khaisers beuelch gewartet, wie sy sagten darumben d(a)ß inen die Moskowitter nicht nachsezten, vnnd d(a)ß Schloß *Asack* eroberten. Aber wie ich glaube, so sey diß die vrsach gewest, d(a)ß sich der öberste Türckhische *Bassa* befaret, vnnd gefürcht, weil er ein solch groß volckh verloren hett, der Türggische Kais(er) wurde im den Khopf nem(m)en, dann ob wol gewiß ist d(a)ß er sich die Tattern hat überreden vnd verfüeren lassen, so hatt nichts destowenig(er) der Tattrisch Khaiser dem *Bassa* alle schuldt geben, d(a)ß von weegen seines vnfleiß vnnd beser ordnung, d(a)ß volckh vmbkhomen wahr. Alda zu *Asack* nachdem man hat drey Tag still gelegen, hatt sich der Tatterische Hauffen, über d(a)ß wasser *Tanais* auf der *Silistrini*sche Türckhische *Sensiack*, der nur 20 Tagraisen hat anhaimb gehabt, vber geschwemmet, vnnd seindt daruon gezogen.

Inn der *Expedition* wid(er) den Moskowitt(er) haben die Türggen ein grosse schandt eingelegt, grossen schaden sonnderlich im Zu ruckh ziehen bekhomen, haben sich sehr

117 v costlich außgerüsst, schöne vnnd thewre Roß gehabt, diß alles verloren, d(a)ß also von 25 Tausent zu Roß vnnd 3000 zu fueß, streittbarer vnnd wolgerüsster Mann, d(a)ß nit darzue gerechnet, was sy zu wasser gerüsst hat, vnnd alles vmb khomen waß, khaum 2000 daruon khom(m)en.

Der Tattern seind wenig vmb khomen, dann sy seindt gross(er) *miseria* vnnd ellendts gewohnet, so waren sy auch baß versehen, haben vil vnnd grosse Hauffen Stuetten mit sich gehabt, welche sy gemolckhen, vnnd von d(er) mülch ernehrt die außgenom(m)en welcher ezlich taussent, über dem fluß *Volga* wie oben geschriben bey *Asracan* in die Moskow sich gemacht vnnd vmbkhomen waren.

Von *Asack* bin ich mit den Tattern, auff *Prekop* zugereiset, eben den weg wie zuuor, ganze eylff Tag den 5. *Novembr(i)s* mit Innen dahin khomen.

Zween Tag alda verharrt, von dannen bin ich darnach allain mit dem Türckischen *Czauss* vnnd meiner gesellschafft gegen *Oczakaw* geraiset, ainen Tag alda stil gelegen, vnnd ainen Tattern mit deß Khünigs Pottschaffters, d(er) in der Tatterey gewest darinner ainer yedern mit zwayen Rossen mit brieffen auff der Posst an die Kun. Mt. vnnd an die Reussische vnnd Podolische Herren abgeferttigt sy gewarnet, d(a)ß die Tattern mit grossen Hauffen in vns(er)

118 r lanndt gewöllt. Bin selbst am dritten Tag aufgewest darnach in drey Tagen gegen *Bielogrodt* od(er) weissen bröckh khom(m)en, alda vier Tag still gelegen. Auß *Bielogrodt* auf *Thyma* vnnd *Yasy*, welches ain haubbt statt an d(er) Walachey ist, durch die Walachey in vnnsers Herren lanndt gegen *Kamrenez* khom(m)en, darnach auf *Juslowicz Vszie*, *Rohatin*, *Drohabuz*, *Sambor*, *Tezeysk*, *Sendomirss*, *Radom*, *Warcka* etc. *Warssaw*, mit gnaden gottes inn dem Abent Cristj geburtt deß angehenden 1570. Jares.

Anmerkungen

[1] Der Titel des polnischen Originals ist: *Krótkie wypisanie drogi z Polski do Konstantynopola, a stamtąd zaś do Astrachania, zamku moskiewskiego, który leży na wschód słońca, ku granicom perskim, przy tym, jako wojsko tureckie, które jeździło pod Astrachań roku 1569, zginęło, k'temu sprawa tureckiego i tatarskiego wojska w ciągnieniu. To wszystko przez p. Jędrzeja Taranowskiego, komornika króla JM, który tam wszędy zjeździł, od JKM posłany będąc, wypisano.* Im Nürnberger Druck (S. 1 r) fehlt der Name des Autors, nur die Buchstaben N. N. sind angegeben.

[2] N: *Bukowitz*; K, B: *przez Bukowinę.*

[3] N: *Schetschawa*; K: *na Soczawę*, B: *nà Soczàwe*. Die Form der Wiener Handschrift beweist deutlich, daß die deutsche Übersetzung direkt aus dem Polnischen angefertigt wurde. Heute *Suceava* in Rumänien. In K kommt noch eine andere Ortsbenennung nach Soczawa vor: *Lary*. Diesen Ort konnten wir nicht identifizieren, wahrscheinlich ist er eine unbekannte Besiedlung in der Moldau (vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 179).

[4] N: *Schoreschem, Lupotzw*; K: *Soreszci, Łopuszno*; B: *Łopuczno*. Die genaue Lage des ersten Ortsnamens kan man näher nicht bestimmen, das in der Süd-Moldau liegende *Ciorăşti* kann nicht mit ihn identisch sein. Der letztere liegt in der Moldau, nord-östlich von Iaşi (*Lopuczina*: Carte de la Hongrie et des Pays qui en dependoient autrefois ... Par Guillaume De l'Isle 1703), heute in der Moldauischen SSR der Sowjetunion.

[5] N: *Kylia*; K: *do Kilii*, B: *do Kiliey*. Eine Stadt nördlich vom Donau-Delta, heute *Килия* in der Moldauischen SSR der Sowjetunion. Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 182—183. Im folgenden lesen wir in B (626) «z Kiliey iechał wzgore rzeki Dunàjà do Jazu», also Bielski mißverstand das polnische Wort *jaz* «Damm, Schleuse», welches in den deutschen Varianten als «großer Bach» zurückgegeben wird, und machte daraus einen nichtexistierenden Ortsnamen *Jaz* (vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 180, Anm. 2).

[6] N: *Tulza*; K: *do Tulczy*, B: *do Tulce*. Heute *Tulcea*, eine Stadt im Donau-Delta in Rumänien. Vgl. noch Matković, *Putovanja* S. 183.

[7] N: *Babi*; K: *do Baby*, B: *do Bàby*. Die deutschen Varianten spiegeln die polnische Genitivform *Baby* wieder. Heute *Babadag*, eine Stadt in Rumänien, südlich von Tulcea. Vgl. noch Matković, *Putovanja* S. 156–159.

[8] N: *Holoferdi*; K: *Hordmerdy*, B: *Horowerdy*. In der Reisebeschreibung Otwinowskis kommt dieser Ortsname in der Form *Tangribredi* vor (Matković, *Putovanja* S. 159, 184). Auf Grund dieses Namens könnten wir vermuten, daß der bei Taranowski vorkommende Name nur eine verdorbene Wiedergabe des Wortes *Hudaverdi* ist.

[9] N: *Halakupi*; K: *Hałakapy*, B: *Hàłapapy*. Heute *Alakapu*, ein Dorf in Rumänien. Die in der Beschreibung erwähnten Ruinen beziehen sich auf die sogenannte Trajan-Mauer, die sich von der Donau bis zum Schwarzen Meer erstreckt. Vgl. noch Matković, *Putovanja* S. 159, 184.

[10] N: *Batzartschik*; K: *do ... Bàzàrczykà*, B: *do ... Bàzàrczykà*. In der Türkenzeit *Pazarcık, Hacı Oğlu Pazarcık*, 1882 wurde die Stadt *Dobrič* genannt, nach dem II. Weltkrieg wurde ihre Benennung zu *Tolbuchin* verändert. Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 159–160.

[11] N: *Preschadi*; K: *do Prowadyi*, B: *do Prowàdyey*. Heute *Provadija*, eine Stadt in Bulgarien. Ihr bulgarischer Name im Mittelalter war *Oveč*, eine Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen *πρόβατον* «Schaf» (vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 160–163).

[12] N: *Ephangi*; K: *do ... Czengi*, B: *do ... Ciengiey*. Heute *Čenge*, ein Dorf in Bulgarien.

[13] N: *Balthan*; K: *Bałchan*, B: *Bàlchany*. Das Balkan-Gebirge.

[14] N: *Nader*; K: *Hader*, B: —. Heute *Nadir mahle* (türkisch *Nadirköy*), ein Dorf im Burgasschen Kreis in Bulgarien. Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 185–189.

[15] N: *Heides*; K: *Hajdos*, B: *Haidosz*. Heute *Ajtos*, ein Städtchen im Ajtos-Gebirge in Bulgarien. In der deutschen Übersetzung fehlt der Teil, wo die Ruinen des Schlosses von Ajtos erwähnt werden: «Hajdos, gdzie też tam zamek jest pusty na wysokiej skale» (K 42).

[16] N: *Kenkliss*; K: *do Kierklisza*, B: *do Kierklissà*. Heute *Kırklareli* in der Türkei. Dem Ausdruck «durch Aych vnnd Schwarzwelde» des deutschen Textes entspricht «przez dąbrowy i lasy» in B, und «przez dąbrowy Iliasy» in K. Der Ortsname *Iliasy* entstand also infolge einer falschen Lesung Kraszewskis. — Bei Ajtos zweigt der Weg nach Edirne (Adrianopolis) bezw. nach Kırkkilise ab, Taranowski benützte den letzteren. Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 191–192.

[17] N: *Begiaraser*; K, B: *Biegarazar*. Heute *Pinarhısar* in der Türkei (*Türkiye'de Meskûn Yerler Kılavuzu* II, Ankara 1946, S. 910). Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 192–193.

[18] N: *Wescha*; K: *Wisze*, B: *Wisse*. Heute *Vize*, eine Stadt in der Türkei (*Türkiye'de Meskûn Yerler Kılavuzu* II, S. 1109). Vgl. Matković, Putovanja S. 193–194.

[19] N: *Tadultsche*; K: *Czatulce*, B: *Bitulce*. Heute *Çatalca*, eine Stadt in der Türkei (*Türkiye'de Meskûn Yerler Kılavuzu* I, S. 240). Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 194.

[20] N: *Karraoser, Anatulkraaser*; K: *Karaussar, Anathulkaraasar*; B: *Kàràzàr, Anàtulkarazar*. Das erste ist mit dem heutigen *Rumeli hisar* identisch, das letztere mit *Anadolu hisar*. Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 195.

[21] Die Beschreibung der Giraffe. Für das Wort *sarnapa* s. A. Zajączkowski, *Staropolska nazwa 'żyrafy' — sarnapa*: *Język polski* 26, S. 19–22.

[22] N: *Kontzikkmezia*; K: *Kuciugciegmedzia*, B: *Kończyk*. Heute *Küçük-Çekmece* in der Türkei. In den polnischen Varianten (K, B) kommt auch der Name *Büyük-Çekmece* vor.

[23] Auf dem Rückweg von Konstantinopel zog Taranowski nach Edirne, und dann folgte er dieselbe Route wie auf dem Hinweg: *Čenge, Provadija, Pazarcık, Ala kapu*. Im polnischen Text steht *Czarną Wodę* (K 44), *Czàrnowode* (B 628) statt *Ala kapu*. Dies

kann nicht mit dem von Conştanţa westlich liegenden Cernavodă, identisch sein, wie es in der 1966-er polnischen Ausgabe behauptet wird, sondern es ist die Übersetzung eines türkischen *Karasu*, welches dem heutigen *Medžija* entspricht. (Vgl. Matković, *Putovanja* S. 197). — *Czachzj* (N: *Sachzi*; K: *do Szachci*, B: *do Sachy*) ist das heutige *Isaccea* in Rumänien.

[24] N: *Bialgrad*; K: *do Białogrodu*, B: *do Biłągrodu*. Tatarisch *Akkerman* oder *Akkirman*, ungarisch *Neszterfehérvár*, rumänisch *Cetatea Alba*, heute *Белгород Днестровский* in der Sowjetunion. Vgl. *Bielgrod* = *Akierman* (Carte exacte d'une Partie de l'Empire de Russie et de la Pologne meridionale . . . suivant le meilleurs auteurs par I et F 1769 on vente cette Carte, dans la Librairie de M. Jägera Francfort sur le Mein), *Ak Kerman* (Carte de la partie septentrionale de l'Empire Otoman . . . Par . . . Rizzi Zannoni . . . MDCCLXXIV).

[25] N: *Barasar*; K: *Berezan*, B: *Bereżan*. Eine Bucht oder *liman*, etwas westlich von Očakov, in der Ausbreitung der Mündung des Flusses *Berezan* (M. Vasmer, *Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässernamen* I, S. 127 [im folgenden: Vasmer, *Wb*]). Vgl. *fl*: *Beresan* (Teatrum Belli MDCCXXXVII. a milite Augustae Russorum Imperatricis adversus Turcas Tattarosque gesti Editum ex Autographo Petropolitano per Antonium du Chaffat), *Beresaw*, eine Stadt (Carte exacte . . . 1769), *J. Berezan* (Karte der Krim . . . Wien . . . 1854).

[26] N: *Octzkaw*, *Ozkaw*, *Otzkaw*; K: *do Oczakowam przyjechał*, B: *do Oczakową*. Eine Stadt bei der Mündung des Dnieper, heute *Очаков* in der Sowjetunion. Ihre tatarische und türkische Benennung ist *Özü*. Vgl. *Oczakow* (Carte . . . de l'Empire Otoman . . . Par . . . Rizzi Zannoni), *Okzakow ou Otchakof* (Confluent et Embouchure du Bog et du Dniéper . . . 1788.).

[27] N: *Przekop*; K: *do Perekopu*, B: *w Przekopie*. Heute *Перекоп*, eine Stadt in der Sowjetunion. *Przekop* ist eine polnische Form, ihr tatarischer Name war *Or Kapusu*. Auch in alten Karten *Perecop* (Teatrum Belli MDCCXXXVII), *Perekop* (Carte . . . de l'Empire Otoman . . . Par . . . Rizzi Zannoni), *Perekopp* (Die Krymm. Druck u. Verlag v. C. Flemming in Glogau [c. 1850]).

[28] Für Kaspar Bernhard Prittwitz (1527—1572) und seine Familie, die schlesischen Herren von Prittwitz und Gaffron siehe *Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Adeligen Häuser*, Gotha 1901, S. 706 ff.; B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, Kraków 1858, S. 643, 823.

[29] N: *Carakui*; K: *Karakoj*, B: *Kàraki*. *Карakую* «e. Salzsee auf d. Krim» (Vasmer, *Wb* II, S. 262).

[30] N: *Schiret*, *Melezna*; K: *Suth*, *Małoczina*; B: *do rzeki Sudà*. Der Fluß *Молочная*, der in den *Молочное* See mündet (Vasmer, *Wb* III, S. 304: auch *Молочные Воды*, ukr. *Молóчна*, poln. *Mołoczna*, *Mołoczne Wody*; auch *Молочанский Лиман*). In alten Karten *fl*: *Molofchnie Vtlück* und *fl. Molofchnie Wodi* (Teatrum Belli MDCCXXXVII), *Molotschnaja* (Die Krymm, Glogau), *Molocznoje See* (Karte der Krim, Wien 1854).

[31] N: *Karsack*; K: *Kauszak*, B: *Kàrszak*. *Корсак* oder *Каракурсак*, ein Zufluß des Asowschen Meeres (Vasmer, *Wb* II, S. 464).

[32] N: *Agatzlibert*; K: *Agarczlibert*, B: *Agàrlibert*. Im polnischen Text folgt dem Namen seine Übersetzung: «drzewiany potok». Wahrscheinlich identisch mit dem Fluß *Берда*, der ins Asowsche Mehr mündet (Vasmer, *Wb* I, S. 124).

[33] N: *Blinkacl*; K: *Bewikał, to jest Wielki Kał*; B: *Bein to iest Wielki kał*. Eine Form des Namens *Büyük Kal* «der große Kal». Vgl. *Calnue Vielki* (Imperii Moscovitici pars Australis . . . per Guillielmum de l'Isle . . . Augustae Vindelic. [c. 1730]). — N: *Melskal*; K: *Mały Kał*, B: *Màłykał*. Vgl. *Calnue Fl.* (Imperii Moscovitici pars Australis).

In *Antologia* (S. 207, Anm. 25) werden die Flüsse *Kal* mit *Gruskij* bzw. *Mokry Elanczyk* identifiziert. Zweifelhaft.

[34] N: *Muss*; K: *Musz*, B: *Musz*. Heute *Миус*, ein Zufluß des *Миусский Лиман* des Asowschen Meeres (Vasmer, *Wb* III, S. 281). In alten Karten finden wir *Muis Fl.* (Imperii Moscovitici pars Australis . . . per G. de l'Isle), *fl. Mius* (Teatrum Belli MDCCXXXVII), *R. Mious* (Carte de la Mer noire . . . en 1773 par Mr De***).

[35] Fürst Dymitr Wiśniowiecki, Führer der Kosaken von Zaporog, wurde im Jahre 1563 in Konstantinopel hingerichtet. Vgl. Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Un condottiere lithuanien du XVIe siècle: le prince Dimitrij Višneveckij et l'origine de la* Seč *Zaporogue d'après les Archives ottomanes: CMRS* X(1969), S. 258–279.

[36] N: *Oslw* oder *Atzak*; K: *do Ossowa . . . Azak*, B: *do . . . Ozowa . . . Atali*. Die Stadt *Азов* (türkisch *Azak*) in der Mündung des Don. Auch die alten Karten kennen diese Stadt und ihr Schloß meistens unter der Benennung *Azov*.

[37] N: *Vhiton*; K: *Uluten*, B: —. Die tatarische Benennung des Flusses Don. Die deutschen Varianten sind verdorbene Formen, nur Kraszewskis *Ulu ten* «großer Don» ist recht.

[38] N: *Dunetz*; K: *Dunajec*, B: *Duniec*. *Донец* oder *Мертвый Донец* ist ein rechtseitiger Nebenfluß oder Arm des Don, nahe der Mündung (Vasmer, *Wb* I, S. 630, unter Донец 8.). Die Form in K ist irrtümlich.

[39] Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um die Beštau- oder Pjatigorsk-Tscherkessen, die sich im Jahre 1555 dem Zar freiwillig unterworfen (Howorth, *History of the Mongols* II/1, London 1880, S. 490).

[40] Dieser Titel befindet sich nur in der Wiener Handschrift.

[41] Wahrscheinlich *Kasay murza*, Führer des nogajschen *Kasay* Stammes. Der Stamm *Kasay* übersiedelte gegen 1550 nach Bucak mit anderen Nogajens-stämmen (İnalcık, *a. A. O.*, S. 58, Anm. 39).

[42] *Mehmet Girey, Adil Girey, Kasay* (*Gazi*?) *Girey, Saadet Girey*.

[43] Unter der Leitung Kasım paşas, des Beglerbegs von Kaffa nahmen die folgenden Sandschaken im Feldzug gegen Astrachan teil: Silistre (*Yenice beg*?), Niğbolu (*Ahmet beg*), Küstendil (*Alay beg*), Çorum (*Alay beg*), Amasya (*Ilyas beg*?), Canik? (*Memet beg*?). Die Namen der Begen sind aus anderen Quellen nicht bekannt. Die Identifizierung des Namens *Marssuw* (W), *marsznamskiego* (K) mit Canik ist zweifelhaft.

[44] N: *Weliack Sager Otzibossa*; K: *Wielaga Zagarciabasza*, B: *Veliagà Jànczàrski Bàszà*. Veli aga, zagarcı başı, Führer der Janitscharen. Für den Titel *zagarcı başı* siehe S. Kakuk, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, Budapest 1973 (*Bibl. Orient. Hung.* XIX), S. 427.

[45] N: *Kniess Sulassbeck Kniess Azli Srinski vnd Mustapha*; K: *starszy kniaź Sulisbek i drugi kniaź aziszyński Mustaffa*, B: *starszy Sulizbek, à drugi Azeysryski Kniàż, y Mustaphà*. Diese Personen sind nur in der Reisebeschreibung Taranowskis erwähnt. Hinter der zweiten Person steckt vermutlich der Name eines der Širin-Fürsten aus der Krim.

[46] N: *Ketzkau*; K: *u Koczkowego przewozu*, B: *v Kuċmińskiego przewozu*. Ein Überfahrtsort des Dnieper, der nicht identifizierbar ist. — Der oben erwähnte Sandschak ist derjenige von Tehinija (heute Benderi). Der Name des tatarischen Dolmetschers (W: *Siendzia*, N: *Sichoza*; *K*: *Sechoż*, B: *Sieoże*) ist übrigens unbekannt.

[47] N: *Musrolei*; K: *Meseleja kapitana*, B: *Miserletà kàpitanà*. Unten ist er in der Form *Misserley* (106 v), *Muserbei* (N), *Mizerlej* (K) geschrieben. Vielleicht *Mısırlı*?

[48] N: *Vlech warhersee*; K: *Ulchwarharn, to jest rzeczny grzbiet*, B: —. *Edil/Idil* (*su*) der türkische Name der Volga ist wohl bekannt, aber die türkische Bennenung des Berges *Переволока* ist aus anderen Quellen nicht erweisbar. Vgl. *Pere Volock*, ein Berg, über dem *Canalis incaeptus* geschrieben ist (Imperii Moscovitici pars Australis . . . per G. de l'Isle).

[49] N: *Sereberitz*: K: *Serebry*, B: *Serebrny*. Fürst Serebrjanyj.

[50] Auf ähnlicher Weise schreibt Dernschwam: «Des jeczigen Kaisers Soliman meczith, Karwasalia, spittal, pfaffen wonungen, badt vnd anderem gebew scheint in der grosse vngeuarlich als Presburg die stadt in Vngern, so werden aber mer pfaffen sein. Wan also die pfaffen process ist, so lauffen auch klaine knaben, ein hauffen, mit, die schreyen an etlichen ortten zw 3 malln: Alla, Alla, Alla, wider Alla, Alla vnd auff die lecze: hwy.» (*Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*. Hrsg.: Franz Babinger. München—Leipzig 1923, S. 88).

[51] Siehe Anm. 45.

[52] N: *Burra Kotzhama*; K: *Burnalekeszama*, B: *Burna kiešieniâ*, R: *Бурна инестена*. Wir konnten diesen geographischen Namen nicht identifizieren. Kurats Lesung «Burnalı (kurnalı?) Çeşme?» (*Türkiye ve Idil boyu*, S. 043) ist nicht mehr als eine Vermutung.

[53] *Maǰary* war eine Stadt, die in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts am Zusammenfluß der Kuma und Bujwola gegründet wurde. Zum erstenmal ist sie im geographischen Werke Abu'l-fidās unter dem Namen *Kummaǰar* erwähnt, dann hatte Ibn Baṭūṭa sie als eine blühende mohammedanische Stadt beschrieben (*Voyages d'Ibn Batuta*. Ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris 1855—59, B. II, S. 374—380). Der Name der Stadt kommt auch in den russischen Annalen vor (*Polnoje sobranie russkich letopisej* V, 215; VII, 197; X, 186; XX/1, 176; XXI/1, 341; XXIII, 100; XXIV, 113; XXV, 165; XXVI, 106; XXVII, 61). In den Jahren 1387—96 wurde die Stadt durch die Feldzüge Timurs verwüstet, und seither haben viele Reisende die verödete Ruinen der Stadt besucht und beschrieben. Taranowski war der erste Europäer, der über die Stadt *Maǰary* und die umherliegenden wüsten Felder berichtete (siehe auch den Text unten: W 112 v und 114 v—115 r). Im XVII. Jahrhundert wurde diese unbewohnte Besiedlung in mehreren russischen Urkunden erwähnt (*Dopolnenie k aktam istoričeskim* XII, S. 228, 242). Im XVIII. Jahrhundert besuchte eine große Anzahl der Reisenden die Ruinen von *Maǰary* (im Russischen *Mažary, Možary*), dafür siehe Bendefy L., *A magyarság kaukázusi őshazája. Gyeretyán országa*, Budapest 1942, S. 332—402. Die Verbindung des Namens der Stadt mit den Magyaren (Ungarn), welche Meinung bei Taranowski schon erscheint, beruht auf der Ähnlichkeit beider Namen, und hat wahrscheinlich keinen geschichtlichen Grund. Für eine eingehende Behandlung der Probleme, mit Bibliographie siehe N. G. Volkova, *Madžary* (*iz istorii gorodov Severnogo Kavkaza*): *Kavkazskij êtnografičeskij sbornik* V (Moskva 1972), S. 41—66; E. V. Rtveladze, *K istorii goroda Madžar*: *Sovetskaja Archeologija* 1972/3, S. 149—163. Vgl. auch L. Tardy, *Die erste Nachricht von der Stadt Madschar*: *Budapester Rundschau* VII/24 (11. Juni 1973), S. 7.

[54] N: *Bibula Kulansch*; K: *Bibałachułaus, to jest przewodnicza*, B: *po nàszemu zowa Przewodnica*; R: *по нашему партчютъ Переводница. Бибала* (heute *Буйвола*) ist ein Nebenfluß der Kuma (Vasmer, *Wb* I, S. 153), *Калáус* oder *Кулауз* ist ein Nebenfluß des östlichen Manyč (Vasmer, *Wb* II, S. 193). Beide Benennungen kommen schon in Kniga bol'šomu čertežu vor. Trotzdem, ist die genaue Lage des oben genannten Sees schwer zu bestimmen.

[55] N: —; K: *Dziegierlik*, B: *Dżiegierlik*; R: *Дагерлипъ. Нижний Егорлык* ist ein Nebenfluß des Kagal'nik (Vasmer, *Wb* I, S. 281). In Kniga Bol'šomu Čertežu die Form *Жегерлик* kommt vor.

[56] Für *kila*, ein Getreidemaß siehe S. Kakuk, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Budapest 1973, S. 243.

[57] N: *Saszigziegerlik*; K: *Satitgerejgerlik*, B: *Sassyle dżiegirlik*; R: *Сагилле-дигирлик. Средний Егорлык, Ягорлык* oder *Вонючий Егорлык* ist ein Nebenfluß des Manyč (Vasmer, *Wb* I, S. 281). In Kniga Bol'šomu Čertežu kommt er als *Егерлык Сасык, Гнилой* vor. *Sasık* ist wohl bekannt auch in anderen türkischen Hydronymen, z. B. gibt es einen

Sasik See in der Krim, nördlich von Eupatoria (Eupatoria, Simpheropol, Baktschi Serai und Umgebungen nördlich von Sebastopol. Carlsruhe v. J. Veith [c. 1850]).

[58] Aleksandr Władzicki, «marszałek źmudzki». Wir konnten ihn nicht identifizieren. *Ziemia źmudzka* war eine der Woiwodenschaften auf dem Gebiete des Litauischen Großfürstentums.

[59] N: *Kugelius*; K: *Kugielink*, B: *Cugielnik*; R: *Цугельник. Кагальник*, ein Zufluß des Asowschen Meeres, der südlich von Azov ins Meer mündet. Es ist fast unmöglich ihn mit dem *Kogolnyj Kulak*, dem linkseitigen Nebenfluß des Manyč zu identifizieren, wie es von A. N. Kurat als eine andere Möglichkeit vorgeschlagen wurde (*Türkiye ve Idil boyu*, S. 142).

XIX

Russian and Tatar Genealogical Sources on the Origin of the Iusupov Family

Whether considered an "auxiliary" (*vspomogatel'nyi* in Russian) or "main" field of historical research, genealogy has always been an important branch and integral part of any scrutiny of the past. A period of some fifty years prior to 1917 was the golden age of Russian genealogical research, but in the Soviet period genealogy became the step-son of history. Anything connected with the aristocracy and gentry of old Russia was regarded as suspicious. It was only a few scholars who dared and could devote their efforts to Russian genealogy; suffice it to mention at this juncture the activities of S. B. Veselovskii (1876–1952) and A. A. Zimin (1920–1980).[1] From the 1970s onwards genealogy again gained citizenship in Russian-Soviet research,[2] and two years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union the first ever genealogical journal since the revolution of 1917 launched its series.[3] Among American scholars of Russian history, genealogy was extensively used by Nancy Shields Kollmann.[4] As a Turcologist also having a keen interest in Russian history and Tatar-Russian contacts, I found my way in no time to Professor Keenan, who himself has always encouraged me to pursue the charming field of *Turco-Russica* or properly speaking *Tataro-Russica*. It is to his honor that I dedicate this study on the Tatar background of the famous princely family of the Iusupovs.

The Iusupov family, together with the kindred Urusov family, took its descendance from the Nogay princes Yûsuf and his brother Ismail's son Urus, well-known actors on the Tatar-Russian historical scene in the mid–sixteeenth century.[5] By the imperial decree of 19 January 1799, the clan of the Iusupov

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[1] Cf. especially S. B. Veselovskii, *Issledovaniia po istorii klassa sluzhilykh zemlevladel'tsev* (Moscow, 1969) and A. A. Zimin, *Formirovanie boiarskoi aristokratii v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XV–pervoi treti XVI v.* (Moscow, 1988), both of them posthumous works of their respective authors.

[2] Bychkova's textological research of the genealogical books is of special interest: M. E. Bychkova, *Rodoslovnye knigi XVI–XVII vv. kak istoricheskii istochnik* (Moscow, 1975); M. E. Bychkova, *Sostav klassa feodalov Rossii v XVI v. Istoriko-genealogicheskoe issledovanie* (Moscow, 1986).

[3] *Istoricheskaia genealogiia/Historical Genealogy*. A quarterly scientific journal, Number 1 (Ekaterinburg, 1993), editor-in-chief S. V. Konev.

[4] Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscvite Political System 1345–1547* (Stanford, 1987).

[5] For a general survey on the Nogays, see I. Vásáry, "Noghay," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. E. J. Brill. vol. 7 (Leiden, 1993): 85–86. For the genealogical literature on the

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princes was registered as a Russian princely clan (*rossiisko-kniazheskii rod*), the highest layer of the Russian aristocracy, in the third section of the *Obshchii gerbovnik*. The Urusov princes were given the same status on 23 June 1801.[6] By the end of the nineteenth century the Iusupov clan died out on the filial line, while the line of the Urusovy is still alive.[7]

The first official Russian genealogical book, the *Gosudarev rodoslovets* "the Sovereign's Genealogical Book" (hereafter: *Gos. rod.*), compiled in 1555,[8] and its supplemented and rewritten version from 1687, the so-called *Barkhatnaia kniga* "Velvet Book" (hereafter: *BK*) published by N. I. Novikov a century later,[9] did not contain the genealogy of the Iusupovs and Urusovs since during the time of the book's compilation in the mid-sixteenth century Yûsuf and the other Nogay princes, though bound through many ties to the Russians, were not yet in direct Russian submission. Consequently, they could not be registered as an organic part of the Russian princely stratum. But interestingly enough, besides the Riurikovich and Gedyminovich princes, the most elegant and upper layer of the Russian aristocracy, the clans of the Astrakhan', Crimean, and Kazan' sovereigns were also registered. After the capture of Kazan' and prior to the siege of Astrakhan', the *Gos. rod.* described the different Tatar ruling elites at the first stage of a century-long transitional period that gradually resulted in their incorporation into the Russian elite. The Nogay princes were also planned to be included in the *Gos. rod.*; in the list of contents of the original copy of the *BK* it is written: "Rod Magnitskikh

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Iusupovy and Urusovy, see L. M. Savelev, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' po istorii, geral'dike i rodosloviiu Rossiiskogo dvorianstva*. 2nd ed. (Ostrogozhsk, 1897). 261, 241. On Yûsuf's and Ismail's roles in the Russian-Tatar interactions, see B.-A. B. Kochekaev, *Nogaisko-russkie otnosheniia v XVI–XVIII vv.* (Alma-Ata, 1988), 73–97; M. G. Safargaliev, "Nogaiskaia Orda vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka," *Sbornik nauchnykh trudov Mordovskogo pedinstituta im. A. I. Polezhaeva* (Saransk, 1949), 32–56.

[6] *Obshchii gerbovnik dvorianskikh rodov Vserossiiskiia Imperii nachatyi v 1797-m godu* [hereafter: *OG*], pt. 3 (1799): 2; part 6 (1801): 1; *Spiski titulovannym rodam i litsam Rossiiskoi Imperii*, Izdanie Departamenta gerol'dii Pravitel'stvuiushchogo Senata (St. Petersburg, 1892), 109, 86–87.

[7] It was Count Feliks Feliksovich Sumarokov-El'ston who in 1885 was authorized to adopt the name and title of his great-grandfather Prince Nikolai Borisovich Iusupov. N. P. Komaroff-Kourloff, *Titres nobiliaires 862–1917* (Paris, 1985), 257. For the Urusovy, see J. Ferrand, *Les familles princières de l'ancien Empire de Russie (en émigration en 1978)* 1 (Montreuil, 1979): 233–37; 3 (Montreuil, 1982): 70–72.

[8] It was N. P. Likhachev, *Razriadnye d'iaki XVI veka* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 405–415, who pointed out in a fine analysis that the version of the *Gos. rod.* compiled by the *d'iak* Ivan Elizarov must have come about after the conquest of Kazan' (1551) and before the capture of Astrakhan' (1556). The fact that the official genealogical book was compiled in the heyday of Tatar campaigns deserves special attention and study.

[9] *Rodoslovnaia kniga kniazei i dvorian rossiiskikh i vyezzhikh ..., i kotoraia izvestna pod nazvaniem Barkhatnoi knigii*, pts. 1–2 (Moscow, 1787).

kniazei Nagaiskikh. Ne pisan."[10] Their omission must have been quite accidental, for according to Likhachev's view no authentic clan register was at hand during the time of the compilation.[11] Yet a very nice compilation of the genealogy of the Nogay princes has been preserved in a private genealogical book compiled at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably during the reign of Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii.[12] It begins like this: "Mangit sil'nyi Edigei Kniaz' Nagaiskoi," so the evident forefather of the clan of the Iusupovy, as in all other contemporary and later sources, was the famous Tatar warlord of the Mangit tribe called Edige or Edigü (1356–1419).[13] Yûsuf is the fifth generation after Edige, in the following way: I. Edige (?) —> II. Nûraddîn (1)—> III. Oqas (1)—> IV. Mûsâ (1)—> V. Yûsuf (5). Nûraddîn, Oqas, and Mûsâ are all first-born sons of their fathers, while Yûsuf, the progenitor (*rodonachal'nik*) of the Iusupovy was the fifth son of Mûsâ (the Arabic numbers in parentheses following the names indicate the cardinal number in male births from the same father).

Naturally enough, not all the noble families were included in the *Gos. rod.*, so immediately on the very same day of abolishing the "precedence" system (*mestnichestvo*) on 12 January 1682, Tsar Fedor Alekseevich ordered to complement the official genealogical book and to submit new genealogical registers (*rospisi*) to the *Razriad.* Even the persons to fulfill this task were appointed at the same date, and further personnel changes were substantiated on 26 January 1686 and 1 September of the same year. The new *Palata Rodoslovnykh Del* set to work, but actually only the first task, namely the complement of the old *Gos. rod.*, was accomplished, the result of which was the famous *Barkhatnaia kniga.* The second task, namely the compilation of the genealogical registers of those families that were not included in the

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[10] V. V. Rummel', "Neskol'ko slov o «Barkhatnoi Knige» i o pechatnom eia izdanii," *Izvestiia Russkogo genealogicheskogo obshchestva* 1 (1900): 68.

[11] N. Likhachev, "Gosudarev rodoslovets i Barkhatnaia kniga," *Izvestiia Russkogo genealogicheskogo obshchestva* 1 (1900): 56–57.

[12] It belongs to the "redaction of the beginning of the seventeenth century" type of the genealogical books, designated as *Sinodal'nyi II* and is now preserved in Moscow, in the Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei, Sinodal'noe sobranie, No. 860 (Bychkova, *Rodoslovnye knigi*, 111). For its edition see *Vremennik Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 10 (1851): 1–130. The rather detailed genealogy of the Turkish and different Chingisid ruling houses in the above synodic copy deserves special attention. The call of the one-time publisher ("Zhelatel'no by bylo, chtoby orientalisty obratili vnimanie na sei rodslovets i poverili ego s svoimi istochnikami," *Vremennik* 10 [1851]: IV) has remained a *pium desideratum* for more than 140 years; in the near future I will try to do this job.

[13] On his personality, see Sh. F. Mukhamed'iarov, "Edigei," *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia èntsiklopediia* 5: 474; M. G. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoi Ordy* (Saransk, 1960), 176 ff., 226 ff.

Gos. rod. into a new genealogical book, has never been accomplished.[14] The exact number of *rospisi* submitted to the *Razriad* at the end of the seventeenth century cannot be established. Most probably there were 600 to 750 family registers by the end of the seventeenth century. But there were even more *rospisi* compiled in the seventeenth century that have never reached the *Razriad*, and they were hiding in rough or fair copies in different family archives of the descendants. For example, the genealogical registers of the Rtishchev family were deposited in N. N. Kashkin's archives in Nizhne-Priskovsk.[15] N. Novikov, in the second volume of his edition of the *Barkhatnaia kniga* in 1787, compiled and edited a list of those families whose genealogical registers were given in the *Razriad* at the end of the seventeenth century. Later, Novikov's list gained a special importance, since most of these documents were demolished during the war of 1812. At present, registers of only 161 families have been preserved from the former *Palata Rodoslovnykh Del* in 163 units of preservation in the Rossiiskii (former: Tsentral'nyi) gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (hereafter: RGADA): fond 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz), opis' 18, 163 ed. khr. It is certain that the family documents of the Iusupov clan and four related families (Urusovy, Sheidiakovy, Baiterekovy, and Kutumovy) having their origins also from different branches of the same tree of the Nogay princes (all of them being Edigü's offsprings) were lost in 1812, but Novikov testifies to their presence in the *Razriad* prior to that period: "Iusupovy Kniaz'ia. Proizoshli ot Kniazei Nagaiskikh. Nazvanie priniali iz roda ikh, nazyvavshegosia Iusup. Rodoslovnaia ikh pod No 500. V toi zhe rospisi napisany: Baiterekovy, Kutumovy, Urusovy, Sheidiakovy."[16]

Despite the loss of many original family documents given to the *Razriad* in the seventeenth century, several of them have been preserved in eighteenth-

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[14] For the history of these events, see A. Iushkov, *Akty XIII–XVII vv. predstavlennye v Razriadnyi Prikaz predstaviteliami sluzhilykh familii posle otmeny mestnichestva*, pt. 1: *1257–1613 gg.* (Moscow, 1898), 3–15; Rummel', "Neskol'ko slov," 63–66; M. E. Bychkova, "Iz istorii sozdaniia rodoslovnykh rospisei kontsa XVII v. i Barkhatnoi Knigi," *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny* 12 (Leningrad, 1981): 90–109.

[15] N. V. Miatlev, *Izvestiia Russkogo genealogicheskogo obshchestva* 4 (1911): 518. According to M. Bychkova's kind information the above material can currently be found in St. Petersburg, in the Institut istorii Rossii: *arkhiv Rtishchevykh* (chernoviki rodoslovii XVII v.), in the *fond Kashkina*.

[16] *Rodoslovnaia kniga*, ed. N. Novikov, vol. 2: 407. For the Urusovy, Sheidiakovy, and Baiterekovy, see ibid., 392, 402–403, 283, all of them under no. 500 together with the Iusupovy. The Kutumovy (ibid., 335) had a separate genealogy under no. 75. For the bibliography of these, by now extinct, families of Nogay princely descent, see L. M. Savelev, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 241, 253, 64, 157, although there is not much written on them. Their genealogies must be compiled drawing on original archival material, mainly the Nogay fond (fond 127) of the RGADA.

century copies made in the *Gerol'dmeisterskaia kontora*, successor to the *Razriad* and founded in 1722 (called simply *Gerol'diia* from the 1760s onwards),[17] and in different family archives. Fortunately enough, two genealogical registers of the Iusupov family have been preserved in their family archives (now in RGADA) and edited by N. Iusupov in 1867.[18] The first one is a scroll (*stolbets*) compiled by a certain Tatar Kul'sheev Abdul on 12 December 1654 (7162). The other one is a generation register (*pokolennaia rospis'*) to be given in the *Razriad* by Prince Ivan Dmitrievich Iusupov on 19 May 1686 (7194).[19] Probably it is the rough copy of the one that was later submitted to the *Razriad* and lost in 1812. Below I will give the complete text of the *stolbets*, then the first part of the *rospis'* extending to Mûsâ, Yûsuf's father:

STOLBETS OF 1654

Родство Абубеккирево что был пос‹ле Магом›ета пророка как оной представился и на его ‹месте› надо всеми мюсюльманны владел и ведал весь мюсюльманской род.

А у Абубеккиря было четыре сына. По двемя большими сыны сын был зовом Магаметем, тот же был Магамет в Дамаске царем. А Магаметев сын солтан Кегап в Домаске был царем же. А от Кегапа родися сын солтан Гирмез и был царем в Египте. А от него родися сын солтан Халеб и был царем в Сарсарех. А от него родися сын солтан Залид и был царем в Сарсарех. А от него родися сын солтан Кыяые и был царем в Сарсарех же, а от него родися сын солтан Кулед и был царем в Сарсарех же. А от него родися сын солтан Абулгазы и был царем в Антиохее. А от него родися сын солтан Селим и был царем во Антиохее же. А от него родися сын солтан Сыддык и был царем в Антиохие же. А от него родися сын солтан Абдюлхак и был царем в Медоине. А от него родися сын солтан Усманор и был царем в Медоине жь. А от него родися сын солтан Джаляляддин и был царем в Констянтине граде. А от него родились два сына: первой сын Адгем а другой сын Бабатюкляс был. А Бабатюкляс был в Кегае царем а Мекка тоже. А Бабатюклесов сын Термес родися межу Волги и Яику. А от него родися сын межу Яика и Волги

[17] See especially fond 286, opis' 1, ed. khr. 241: *Vypiski iz rodoslovnoi knigi*, 1196 listov; ibid., ed. khr. 241a: *Delo o prisylke svedenii o rodoslovnykh*, 1741–1747, 185 listov; fond 199 (Portfeli G. F. Millera), opis' 1, 1–1475 ed. khr.; and the excellent manuscript guide to the genealogies of the RGADA compiled in the past century by A. Zertsalov: *Ukazatel' rodoslovnykh dvorianskikh rodov sostavlennyi A. N. Zertsalovym* (No. 375).

[18] *O rode kniazei Iusupovykh. Sobranie zhizneopisanii ikh, gramot i pisem k nim rossiiskikh gosudarei, ...* pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1867): 3–5, 343–47.

[19] This *rospis'* was given by him in the name of nineteen members of the Iusupov clan some of whom also signed the *rospis'*, see *O rode kniazei Iusupovykh* 2 (St. Petersburg, 1867): 343.

Карапчи. А от Карапчия родися сын Исламкая межу Яика и Волги. А от Исламкая родися сын Кадылкая межу Яику и Волги. А от Кыдылкая родися сын Кутлукая, взял взятьем Кумкент и учинися в Кумкеньте государем, а от него Кутлукая родися сын Эдиги Князь, и взял Эдиги бек взятьем у Джанбека царя юрт и учинися на его месте Государем.

А у Эдигия Князя родися сын Нурадын Мурза. А от Нурадына Мурзы родися сын Окас Князь. А у Окаса Князя родися сын Муса Князь. А у Мусы Князя родися сын Юсуф Князь, а у Юсуфа Князя родися сын Иль Мурза.

А у Бабатюклеся были четыре сына: первой сын был в Каг(б)е царем а другой сын похоронен подле Кагбе. Третий сын в Юргенче погребен. Четвертой сын в Крыму погребен. А у Кагбинского царя у Бабатюклеся было три сына: первой Аббасом зовом, по правой стороне Каабы погребен, а другой сын Абдурахман Хозя погребен в Кагьбе же. А третей сын Термя, что был межу Яику и Волги.

ROSPIS' of 1686

Родство Абабук Киреева. Владел и ведал весь мюсюльманский род после Магомета.

А у Бабекира сын Магомет был в Дамаске царем. А Магометов сын Султан Кегаб в Дамаске ж был царем. А Кегапов сын Султан Гирмис был в Египте Царем. Гермесов сын Султан Халид был в Сарсаре Царем. А Халидимов сын Султан Кулюд был в Сарсаре Царем. А у Кулюда сын Султан Абулгази был в Антиохии Царем. А и Абулгази сын Селим был в Антиохии Царем. А у Селима сын Султан Сыддык был в Антиохии Царем. А и Сыддыка сын Султан Абдельхак был в Медоиме Царем. А у Абдельхака сын Султан Осман был в Медоиме ж Царем. А у Османа сын Султан Ждаляледдин [recte: Джаляледдин] был в Константине граде Царем. А у Джаляледина два сына: первый Адгем, второй Бибатюкляс был в Кехбе Царем, а Мекка тож. А у Бабатюкляса три сына: первый Аббасом зовут, второй Абдурахман, третий Термя был меж Волги и Яика. А у Термя сын Карапчи. А у Карапчая сын Сламкай. А у Сламкая сын Каддыркай. А у Каддыркая сын Кадлукай, и взял Кадлукай взятьем Кункент, и учинися в Кункенте Государем. А у Кадлукая сын Иддигей Князь, и Иддигей Князь взял у Джанибека Царя юрт, и учинися на его месте Государем.

А у Идигия Князя сын Народык-Мурза. А у Народык-Мурзы сын Акас Князь. А у Акаса-Князя сын Муса Князь. ...

It is quite evident that the "Stolbets of 1654" is a more original and reliable source, while the "Rospis' of 1686" has more corruptions in rendering the proper names, the most disturbing being the transformation of the Arabic name "Abubekir" into "Ababuk Kirei" thereby making the faint impression as if the Iusupovy had connections with the Crimean Tatar dynasty of the Gireys which, of course, is nonsense. Both genealogies go back to the Tatar family traditions of the Iusupovy and they can be found also in Tatar historical sources. No researcher of Russian history has hitherto noticed that the Tatar

historiographer Qâdir 'Alî-bek Calâyirî, who wrote his work in Kasimov in 1602,[20] has a passage on Edige's descent, which, by and large, is the prototype of the Russian genealogy of the Iusupovs.[21] In his *Câmi'u't-tavârîḫ*, after the *Dâstân-i Ḥâccı Girey ḫân* and before the *Dâstân-i Uraz Muḥammad ḫân ibn Undan* there is a short fragmentary passage without any heading, evidently recounting Edige's genealogy.[22] It reads as follows:

... **atlığ irdi. Bu Terme İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣıl boldı. Anıñ oğlı Qarıçı, ol ham İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣıl boldı. Anıñ oğlı İslâm-Qaya, ol ham İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣıl boldı. Anıñ oğlı Qâdir-Qaya, ol ham İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣıl boldı. Anıñ oğlı Qutlu-Qaya, ol ham Qumkentde ḥâṣıl boldı. Anıñ oğlı İdige biy**, raḥmatu'llâhi 'alayhim acma'în. Qutlu-Qayanı Urus-ḫân şahîd qılıbdur. **Ama Baba-Tüklesniñ tört oğlı bar irdi: biri Ka'bada pâdşâh boldı, biri Ka'banıñ yanında yatur va biri Ürgençde yatur, biri Qırımda** Üç-Ötlükde. Bir rivâyat bilen **Baba-Tüklesniñ ma'lûm üç oğlı bar irdi: biriniñ atı 'Abbâs, Ka'banıñ oñ yanında, biriniñ atı 'Abdu'l-raḥman ḫoca turur, ol dağı Ka'bada yatur, va biriniñ atı Terme turur, ol İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣıl boldı.** Payğampar [sic!] (ṣallâ'llâhu 'alayhi va sallama)nıñ qabrlarıdın Sayyid-Naqıbqa avaz biribdür, ikinçi 'âlim Murtażâ-Sayyid, üçünçisi 'azîz karâmat‹lı› Baba-Tükles-ata turur. Özbik-ḫân musluman bolğanda Özek-çoranı Ka'ba-yi şarîfga yiberibdür. Anda bu üç irni alıb kilib musluman bolubdur. Ama İdige-bik Toqtamiş-ḫânnıñ ulusın avval bildi, anıñ hikâyatları öz ‹d›âstânıda her yerde şarḥga tilese kilür. Bi-mavżi' (162) İdil boyunda ötti. Tâ anıñ uruğı tâ ğâyatqa digeç munşa'ib uruğ bolub öttiler. Tâ akṣar bu zaman üküşrek andın paydâ boldı. Ama İdige-bik altmış üç yaşında vafât tabdı, Qâdir-Birdi-ḫânnıñ uruşında zaḥm ...

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[20] On Qâdir 'Alî-bek and his work, see M. A. Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoricheskie istochniki XVII–XVIII vv.* (Kazan', 1972), 33–96.

[21] Half a year after I had finished and sent my article to the publishers in June 1994, an excellent book came out from Devin DeWeese's pen entitled *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA, 1994). In addition to delving into all aspects of the Baba-Tükles story, he also treated the Yusupovs' Nogay genealogy (396–407). Though there are slight differences in our treatment of the subject it is definitely reassurring that two scholars, independently of each other, have arrived at approximately the same conclusions. In every aspect of the Baba-Tükles legend, I may refer the reader to DeWeese's monograph but I did not deem it necessary to rewrite my article since our approaches are different. His work, as its subtitle indicates, tries to place the theme in the broader context of the "Conversion to Islam" story in the Golden Horde in historical and oral tradition, whereas my contribution aims at elucidating the process how a Tatar genealogical tradition could be incorporated in the genealogy of a Russian aristocratic clan of Nogay origin. (My only remark here is that the Russian Ishboldin family's alleged descent from Edige's great grandson Alchaghyr is rather dubious and needs further proofs. But this question is of secondary importance and without relevance to our theme.)

[22] I. N. Berezin, *Sbornik letopisei. Istoriia mongolo-tiurkov, na tatarskom iazyke* (Kazan', 1851), as vol. 2.1 of *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov.* Edige's genealogy on pp. 161–62.

... was his name. This Terme appeared in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son Qarıçı appeared also in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son İslâm-Qaya appeared also in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son Qâdir-Qaya appeared also in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son Qutlu-Qaya appeared also in Qumkent. His son [was] İdige-biy, the mercy of Allah be with him. Urus Khan made Qutlu-Qaya a martyr [i.e., killed him]. But Baba-Tükles had four sons: the first has become sovereign in Ka'ba, the other one lies [i.e., buried] at one side of the Ka'ba, the third one lies in Ürgenç, the fourth one in the Crimea in Üç-Ötlük. According to hearsay, Baba-Tükles is known to have had three sons: the name of the first is 'Abbâs, he lies at the right side of the Ka'ba, the name of the other is 'Abdu'rraḥman-ḫoca, he lies also in the Ka'ba, and the name of the third is Terme, he appeared in the Volga and Ural [region]. From his tomb the Prophet (may Allah protect and save him) [first] gave voice to Sayyid-Naqıb, secondly to the scholar Murtazâ-Sayyid, thirdly to the holy wonder-worker father Baba-Tükles. When Özbek Khan became a Muslim, he sent Özek-çora to the Holy Ka'ba. There he took these three men [with him] and became a Muslim. But formerly İdige-bik knew [i.e., was in command of] the appanage (*ulus*) of Toqtamış Khan, and his stories are expounded throughout his own *dâstân*. He passed away in the Volga region. His offspring was extremely ramified, then passed away. Nowadays even more of them have appeared. But İdige-bik died at the age of sixty-three. In a battle with Qâdir-Birdi Khan [he was] wounded ...

The parts of the Turkic text that have their direct translation in the "Stolbets of 1654" are set in boldface. They clearly indicate that more or less the same Tatar genealogy lies at the basis of both Qâdir 'Alî-bek's and the Russian version. The initial and final part of the *Câmi'u't-tavârîḫ* are missing in the MS published by Berezin, but there is a complete, yet unpublished variant in Kazan',[23] which probably contains the same data as those in the Russian texts.

Drawing on the evidence of the above Tatar and Russian genealogical sources, *three* phases can be established in the history of the Iusupov family. Proceeding in retrograde order, the first phase extends from Yûsuf, forefather and founder of the Russian family, to Edige, founder of the Nogay Horde (five generations). The second phase comprises Edige's direct ancestry to Baba-Tükles (six generations), while the third phase is represented by Baba-Tükles's ancestors to Abû Bakr, who lived in Prophet Muḥammad's time (fifteen generations).

The first phase yields no problem. Yûsuf's descent from Edige is amply documented also from other sources.[24] Yûsuf's father Mûsâ, who was among the first Nogay princes to send envoys to the Russian grand prince Ivan III in

[23] For the MSS of the *Câmi'u't-tavârîḫ*, see Usmanov, *Tatarskie istochniki*, 35–38.

[24] Cf. note 12 above and Kochekaev, *Nogaisko-russkie otnosheniia*, 48 ff.

November 1489, plainly refers to his ancestor as "ded moi Edigei kniaz'."[25] Mûsâ's father and Edige's grandson, Oqas (or Vaqqâs in some Muslim sources), played an instrumental role in forging an alliance of his Nogay Horde with the "nomadic" Uzbeks of the Shibanid Abû'l-ḫayr khan and was one of the major actors in the political events in 1430–1450.[26] The final consolidation of the Nogay Horde (or the Mangit Yurt, as it was called in the Muslim sources) as a separate political unit probably took place under Oqas' rule.[27] Oqas, like all his descendants and successors (Mûsâ, Yûsuf, and others), bore the title *biy* (Arabic *amîr*, Russian *kniaz'*), which meant he was the nominal head of the loose confederation of Nogay *murza*s. Oqas's father and Edige's son, Nûraddîn, took the first steps in this direction, but, according to Nogay genealogies, he did not acquire the rank of *biy*, for he was only a *murza*.[28]

The historicity of the second phase is a bit problematic. Though most historical sources call Edige's father Qutlu-Qaya, according to the Persian historiographer Mu'înu'd-dîn Naṭanzî, Edige's father was Baltıçaq.[29] At any rate, Edige's descent from the Turco-Mongolian Mangit tribe can be taken for granted,[30] despite the uncertainties concerning his father's person and the fact that his ascending line cannot be corroborated from other sources. So his lineage from Qutlu-qaya to Terme, even if not proved exactly from elsewhere, seems possible and acceptable. Taking twenty-five to thirty years for a generation, Terme (if he was a real ancestor of Edige) must have been born some time between 1210 and 1230.

The third phase of the genealogy, including Baba-Tükles's person and his lineage from Abû Bakr, is more than problematic: it is merely a falsification. Edige was evidently a Tatar warlord of the Mangit tribe, and his family's descent from Muslim Arabic background can by all means be excluded. Moreover, it must have also appeared rather queer to the contemporary Tatar world. The question automatically emerges: in whose favor and on what

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[25] *Posol'skaia kniga po sviaziam Rossii s Nogaiskoi ordoi 1489–1508 gg.*, ed. by M. P. Lukichev and N. M. Rogozhin (Moscow, 1984), 28.

[26] B. A. Akhmedov, *Gosudarstvo kochevykh uzbekov* (Moscow, 1965), 45–46, 63–64, 93.

[27] See Safargaliev, *Raspad*, 229.

[28] *Vremennik Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 10 (1851): 30.

[29] For a good survey of the historical sources concerning Edige's father, see V. V. Bartol'd, "Otets Edigeia," in *Sochineniia* 2.1: 797–804. For Natanzî on Edige's descent, see V. G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordy*, vol. 2 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1941), 133, 237–38. For Qutlu-Qaya's resident town Qumkent, which lay near Vazîr in Khwarezm, see DeWeese, *Islamisation*, 390, 485.

[30] See DeWeese, *Islamisation*, 344.

ground was this pious Muslim genealogy fabricated? Edige was an all-powerful warlord of the Golden Horde, like Nogay or Mamay in the Horde or Timur Lenk in the fourteenth century in Central Asia. The phenomenon of strong warlords who often were the actual rulers of a confederation or empire can frequently be observed in the Turco-Mongol world, especially in the Chingisid era. But these warlords and commanders-in-chief could never ascend to the kaghan's throne, since the universal claim to and belief in the divine right of Chingis's descendants to rule made it impossible for any pretender to usurp the khan's power. The best known example is Timur Lenk, who never assumed the title of the khan but had to be content with that of the *gürkân*. Here lies the clue to Edige's "Muslim" genealogy. He had to "legalize" his *de facto* power by *de iure* evidence. Since he could not pretend to be a Chingisid, his other choice was to draw back his family lineage to equally "elegant" Muslim predecessors. In addition, a false claim to be a Chingisid could have been detected with ease in the Turco-Mongolian world of the Golden Horde, while the descent from remote Muslim sovereigns of the Middle East was less controllable.[31] On the other hand, Edige's derivation from Muslim rulers of the Middle East is a sound proof for the fact that, by the 1400s, Islam had taken such a firm ground in the Golden Horde that a high-ranking "Islamic" genealogy (descent from the Prophet's time) could serve almost as an equivalent to a Chingisid extraction. But I stress the word *almost* since nothing could substitute for a real Chingisid descent.

Edige's genealogy from a saintly Muslim clan must have come about on Tatar soil some time after Edige's lifetime (later I will return to the possible date of this legend of descent), and it has become firmly rooted in Tatar folklore. The Nogay epic concerning Edige and its Kazak, Karakalpak, Crimean, and Siberian Tatar versions all know that Edige's forefather was Baba-Tükles.[32] Baba-Tükles, or in some Turkic versions Baba-Tükdi, is a key figure in Edige's genealogy.[33] He was a half-legendary Muslim saint. Qâdir 'Alî-bek calls him "the holy wonder-worker father Baba-Tükles" (*'azîz karâmat<lı> Baba-Tükles-ata*) (see above). In the Kazak epic he is "the saint (*'azîz*) Baba-Tükdi-Çaçdı."[34] According to Melioranskii's research,[35] the figure

[31] This thought was first put forward by Usmanov, *Tatarskie istochniki*, 83.

[32] For the Turkic epic on Edige, see V. M. Zhirmunskii, *Tiurkskii geroicheskii èpos* (Leningrad, 1974), 198–99, 221–31. On different versions and editions of this folk epic, see P. M. Melioranskii, *Skazanie ob Edigee i Toktamyshe* (St. Petersburg, 1905), 17–18.

[33] On Baba-Tükles see DeWeese, *Islamization*, passim, esp. 67 ff., 321 ff.

[34] Melioranskii, *Skazanie*, 2 (the Kazak text). For more on Baba-Tükles, see Utemish-khadzhi, *Chingiz-name*, facsimile, translation, and transcription by V. P. Iudin, ed. by Iu. G. Baranov, commentary by M. Kh. Abuseitova (Alma-Ata, 1992), 156 n. 71.

[35] Melioranskii, *Skazanie*, 10.

of the legendary wonder-worker Baba-Tükles is partly based on and partly mixed with the historical figure of Ḫoca Aḥmad Yasawî, the best-known Turkic saint of Turkestan in the twelfth century.[36] In the Nogay version of the epic, Edige's son Nûr 'Âdîl (*recte*: Nûraddîn) calls himself the "son of the Turkestan wonder-worker saint Ḫoja Aḥmed Baba-Tükli-Şaşlı Barḫâ'î" (*karâmatlı Turkestanda Qocı Ahmad Baba-Tükli-Şaşlı 'azîz Barḫâ'î*), and in a Crimean Tatar version collected by W. Radloff, Nûraddîn also calls his forefather *Şaşlı-Tüklü Qoca Amet.*[37] Consequently, in Turkic folklore Edige's pious Muslim forefather may have been identified with Aḥmad Yasawî, the famous and popular mystic of Central Asia venerated by all peoples of the region, whose mausoleum in Yası (now: Turkestan) was erected just in Timur's (and Edige's) time and to the *gürkân*'s order. But DeWeese has a different opinion and asserts that the semilegendary Baba-Tükles was formed from another famous saint and namesake of the founder of the Yasawî order, Sayyid Aḥmad, known as Sayyid Ata, who was a contemporary of Özbek Khan.[38] His assumption is reasonable since it places the conversion to Islam into the real historical setting of Özbek Khan's reign and court when and where the first Baba-Tükles story recorded by Ötemiş Ḥaccı takes place. On the other hand, it creates an additional difficulty: how to explain away the chronological confusion in Edige's genealogy caused by placing Baba-Tükles in Uzbek's time, namely, the six generations between Edige and Baba-Tükles would be too much for such a short time-span. Obviously enough it was a rather thorny task for the compiler(s) of Edige's genealogy to explain how Baba-Tükles, who allegedly was a ruler in Ka'ba and Mekka, got to the Ural-Volga region. The appearance of Baba-Tükles in that region is connected with Özbek Khan's conversion to Islam. Özbek Khan sent his man Özek-çora (unknown from other sources) to the the Holy Ka'ba to call three pious men to his country: Sayyid-Naqıb, Murtazâ-Sayyid (two persons unknown from other sources) and Baba-Tükles-ata. (The third one's Turkic name clearly displays his origin in Central Asia and/or the Ural-Volga region and his total disconnection with the Arabic world of Mekka.) The connection of Edige's genealogy with Baba-Tükles, who converted Özbek Khan to Islam, led to a total chronological confusion. Özbek Khan ascended the throne in 1312; consequently, Baba-Tükles must have lived around that time. But in Edige's

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[36] M. F. Köprülü, "Ahmed Yesevî," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2: 210–15; K. Eraslan, "Ahmed Yesevî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2: 159–61.

[37] G. Osmanov, *Nogaisko-kumytskaia khrestomatiia* (St. Petersburg, 1883), 43, 9. The word *Barḫâ'î* cannot be interpreted. W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Türkvölker*, vol. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1896): 161–62. For Baba-Tükles's figure in the Turkic folklore, see DeWeese, *Islamisation*, 409–483.

[38] DeWeese, *Islamization*, 483–90.

genealogy Baba-Tükles is Edige's forefather in the sixth generation, so he had to be born some time between 1176 and 1201 (taking twenty-five to thirty years for one generation counting back from 1356, the time of Edige's birth). The latter date fits Aḥmad Yasawî well, but is absolutely wrong if Baba-Tükles was Özbek Khan's contemporary. Be that as it may, most probably we have to reckon with a contamination of the figures of the two famous Aḥmads, Yasawî and Sayyid Ata. Now, whether Baba-Tükles was a really existing Muslim saint or just a folklore figure whose identity melted with that of Aḥmad Yasawî and/or Sayyid Ata cannot be ascertained. In any event, forms of his name like *Tükli-Çaçlı* and the like (their meaning being "hairy") clearly indicate their folk etymological origin.[39] The above contradictions underline the special difficulties in interpreting the historicity of Baba-Tükles who has, after all, become the mythic Muslim forefather of Edige's clan.

Baba-Tükles's legendary character is further corroborated by the confusion about his offspring. According to one version he had four sons (without names): two in Ka'ba, one in Ürgenç (Khwarezm), one in the Crimea. According to another hearsay ("bir rivâyat bilen" according to Qâdir 'Alî-bek) he had three sons: 'Abbâs, 'Abdu'l-raḥman, and Terme (again the third one's Turkic name is the connecting link between Arabia and the Volga region). Evidently, Qâdir 'Alî-bek accepted the latter version, since it assured the transition from Baba-Tükles' Mekkan stay to the Volga-Ural region through Terme's person. Yet it remains uncertain whether Baba-Tükles or his son Terme was the first to appear in the Volga-Ural region. The Russian "Stolbets of 1654" gives both (the four-son and three-son) versions without explaining them. The "Rospis' of 1686" mentions only the three-son version. All in all, it is absolutely apparent that the legendary Muslim-Turkic saint Baba-Tükles's connection with Edige's genealogy and the alleged descent of the former from the Caliph Abû Bakr[40] are parts of an intentional "falsification," the objectives of which have been elucidated formerly.

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[39] Melioranskii, *Skazanie*, 10 n. 2 puts forward an interesting idea concerning the origin of this folk etymology. According to him, the phrase *Baba-Tükles Şaşlı 'azîz* originally meant "B.-T. the saint of Şaş" (Shash was the name of the town and region near today's Tashkent), from which later *şaşlı* was falsely interpreted as "hairy" and *tükles* was accordingly changed into the synonymous word *tükli* or *tükdi* meaning also "hairy." There is direct evidence to the existence of this folk etymology in Ötemiş-hacı's historical work, the *Çingiz-nâme*. In recounting a miraculous event in Özbek Khan's time the chief hero of which is Baba-Tükles it is noted that all his limbs were covered with hairs: *tamam a'zâlarını tük basıb erdi* (Utemish-khadzhi, *Chingiz-name*, 133 [text], 106 [Russian translation]). For the possible linguistic interpretations of the name Baba-Tükles, see DeWeese, *Islamization*, 323–36.

[40] It is quite irrelevant to discuss whether the Abû Bakr of the genealogy was identical with the Prophet's father-in-law, later caliph or with Abû Bakr ibn Rayok, commander-in-chief of the Caliph Al-Râdî (934–940) as was suggested by N. Iusupov, *O rode kniazei*

There is one question left unanswered concerning Edige's genealogy: when was Edige's pious Muslim descent fabricated? Evidently the need to fabricate a Muslim genealogy to counterbalance the lack of a Chingisid lineage may have risen already in Edige's lifetime, but there is no firm evidence to that effect. Moreover, legends are more prone to full blossoming after the lifetime of the person to whom they refer. So most probably it was immediately after Edige's death in 1419 that the first versions of his Islamic descent took shape. A modern Kara-Nogay version of the Edige epic seems to corroborate this assumption: Edige's son Nûraddîn (Nuradil in the text) speaks this way: "the fact that I am not of Chingis Khan's lineage is of little consequence, for I am of the tribe of the glorious Turk hero Khochakhmat Babatukli."[41] Though Nûraddîn's popularity, comparable to his father Edige's, is indisputable in later Nogay and Tatar folklore,[42] Safargaliev's assertion that it was Nûraddîn who gave the order to compile his father's Muslim genealogy lacks any hard evidence. My guess is that the final molding into shape of Edige's Muslim genealogy, though going back to Nûraddîn's time, may have taken place during Oqas's reign when Oqas and his Mangits became firm allies of Abû'l-ḫayr and his Uzbeks. Baba-Tükles, the Islamizer of the Chingisid Özbek Khan and his Golden Horde, seemed to be a worthy ancestor for Oqas's grandfather Edige. In ideological garb it expressed the political equality of the two allies, Oqas and Abû'l-ḫayr.

The Iusupovy, already in Russian service, took over the genealogy of their Tatar predecessors together with its evident Islamic bias, and it was accepted as their authentic genealogy. As was mentioned above, the authenticity is indisputable between the Yûsuf-Edige line, is disputable between the Edige-Terme line, and indisputably fictive between the Baba-Tükles-Abû Bakr line. It is well known how many fictive genealogies were in circulation in Russia, especially in the initial "legend" part of the genealogies, where numerous fictive "emigrations" (*vyezdy*) took place. To invent a distinguished ancestor, according to Gustave Alef, "was a common manifestation among the untitled clans by the sixteenth century. No one wanted to be known as being originally Russian. Even the tsar claimed descent from the imperial pagan Roman line."[43] Having an elegant Tatar princely lineage, the Russian Iusupovy were

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Iusupovykh 1: 12. Since it is a falsified genealogy, it is similarly of no point to scrutinize the persons of the Abû Bakr—Baba-Tükles line of the genealogy.

[41] G. Anan'ev, "Karanogaiskiia narodnyia istoricheskiia predan'ia," *Sbornik materialov dlia opisaniia mestnostei i plemen Kavkaza*, vol. 27, section 3 (Tiflis, 1900): 12. First referred to by Safargaliev, *Raspad*, 229, n. 1 (with slightly different bibliographical data), then by DeWeese, *Islamization*, 440.

[42] See DeWeese, *Islamization*, 348.

[43] G. Alef, "Aristocratic Politics and Royal Policy in Muscovy in the Late Fifteenth and

not compelled to invent a fictive forefather. Yet their forefather Edige's fictive "Islamic" genealogy was also incorporated into the Russian genealogy. Moreover it became even more popular and known than their descent from Edige's Nogay princely line. By the seventeenth century, their fictive extraction from Abû Bakr had become more important for the Russian Iusupovy than their real descent from Edige. Their genealogy was called "rodstvo Abubekirevo" and their clan is stated to have reigned over all the Muslims (see the initial parts of the *Stolbets* and the *Rospis'* above). In the *Obshchii Gerbovnik* of 1799 mention is made of their origin from Nogay princes, then is added: "Predok sego roda Ababek-Kerei syn Dok[44] byl vladetelem. Potomki sego Ababeka v drevneishie vremiana v Egipte i v drugikh mestakh byli tsariami."[45] So among the ancestors of the Iusupovy there were sovereigns (*vladetel'*) and emperors (*tsar'*). Moreover, in Novikov's genealogical list attached to the edition of the *Barkhatnaia kniga* the Princes Kutumovy (kindred to the Iusupovy) are said to have originated from the Prophet Muḥammad: "Oni proizvodiat svoi rod ot Magometa Proroka..."[46] Though Edige was a mighty warlord and prince (*amîr* in Arabic, *bek/biy* in Tatar, *kniaz'* in Russian) of the Golden Horde and founder of the Mangit-based Nogay Horde, he never became a sovereign (*khan* in Tatar, *tsar'* in Russian). The endeavor of the Russian "Stolbets of 1654" to make him a sovereign who sat on Cânibek Khan's throne ("uchinisia na ego [i.e., Cânibek] meste Gosudarem") is a mere distortion of facts. Consequently, Edige biy was less "elegant" in a genealogy than the rulers of the Middle East, and the snobbish atmosphere of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries placed him in second place in his post-mortem rivalry for primacy with Abû Bakr's fictive successors. One might also ponder that Edige's highly negative image (and rightly so) in Russian history might have also contributed to his eclipse in the genealogy, but it was not so. Once a Tatar prince entered into Russian service his pagan past was forgiven him. The fact of having a high-ranking ancestor was more important than his one-time political background.

In sum, the Russian genealogies of the Iusupov family totally relied on the Tatar genealogies of the Nogay princes, which are authentic in their part extending to Edige, founder of the clan. Edige's genealogy is dubious, while

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Early Sixteenth Centuries," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 27 (1980): 96 n. 110.

[44] The name *Dok* cannot be explained in a proper way. Most probably it is the result of some scribal error. N. Iusupov's idea (*Rayok* > *Dok*) is as improbable as N. A. Baskakov's suggestion (*Dok* < Turkic *toq*, *doq* 'full, satiated'). (*O rode kniazei Iusupovykh* 1:13 n. * and *Russkie familii tiurkskogo proiskhozhdeniia* [Moscow, 1979], 114, 188).

[45] *OG* 3 (St. Petersburg, 1799): 2.

[46] *BK* 2: 335.

the connection of his ancestry, with a "double Islamic twist," both to Baba-Tükles, semi-legendary saint of Central Asia and to the early Islamic rulers of the Middle East is an evident "ideological" falsification. The Russian genealogies took over both the real and the fictive parts of the Tatar genealogies without any criticism, and propagated the doubly elegant origins (Nogay princes + rulers of the Middle East) of the Iusupov clan.

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XX

Clans of Tatar Descent in the Muscovite Elite of the 14th-16th Centuries

The genesis of Russian autocracy and bureaucracy has incessantly intrigued historians of Russia. Since both emerged in a period immediately following the two-hundred-and-fifty-year period of the Tatar yoke, the Tatars' role in the emergence of Moscow and the nascence of Russian autocracy and bureaucracy could not be passed by in silence. The "Tatar question" has been one of those issues of Russian history that has evoked the most contradictory, sometimes diametrically opposed views, both in the scholarly world and in broader public opinion.

The first long period of Russian-Tatar contacts traditionally labelled as the "Tatar Yoke" ended in 1480, while the second period by and large overlaps the emergence and final construction of the Muscovite autocracy. This second phase extended roughly from 1480 till 1552–1556 (the dates of the captures of Kazan and Astrakhan).

From the Russian point of view the course of Tatar-Russian contacts after 1480 could be best described as a way leading from outside towards inside. The Tatars, together with their institutions and their culture, increasingly became an organic part of Russia, notwithstanding the ever-existing theoretical opposition on both sides. Tatar and Russian history became inseparable. It is within this framework of interiorisation that I shall attempt to treat one aspect of the Tatar-Russian contacts in the 14th-16th centuries, namely the history of Russian clans or families of Tatar descent.

In the forms of adaptation that have become common after the 1550's, the Tatar groups and individuals preserved their identities as Muslims, consequently only their political loyalty changed, but their religious and ethnic whereabouts remained more or less the same. Before the middle of the 16th century this form of adaptation was extremely rare on a personal level. I do not know of any single example before that date when a Tatar prince or mirza entered into Russian service and retained his Islamic faith. On a collective scale, only the Kasimov Tatars followed the "Russian subjects with Islamic faith" pattern, and their khanate owed its existence to a subtle equilibrium of Kazan Tatar and Muscovite forces. After a century of existence the khanate lost its direct political significance. Before Kazan's and Astrakhan's capture the individual forms of entering Russian service dominated the Tatar elites. This has never occurred in large numbers since embracing Christianity was tantamount to becoming Russian. But it was always a luring possibility for individuals of the Tatar elite to enter into the service of Russian princes and grand princes. In doing so they could hope for a good social career: land grants with privileges, military and administrative posts, and last but not least good marriages with daughters of good Russian families helping them to a higher social status. It is this last way of the Tatars' social adaptation, which will be in the focus of my presentation.

All aristocracies and nobilities are international to a great extent, and this was true for the Muscovite elite too. But the proportion of clan groups having different

ethnic origins within the Muscovite elite has never been systematically scrutinised with the exception of Nikolai Zagoskin's somewhat outdated monograph written in 1875 on the organisation and origins of the servitor class in pre-Petrine Russia.[1] Since that time no serious research has been made to control, verify and broaden Zagoskin's data. Vernadsky echoed Zagoskin's figures, inasmuch he stated that at the end of the 17th century 156 Russian noble families were "of 'Tatar' and other Oriental origin".[2] Halperin took over Vernadsky's estimates and added that he deemed that number excessive.[3] In any case, in contrast to the Eurasianists' exaggerations in their uncritical appraisal of the Tatar impact, Halperin tries to minimise the Tatar proportion of the Russian nobility. He doubts whether the evidence drawn from names, heraldry and genealogies is conclusive and sufficient. The fact remains, whether we like it or not, that a certain percentage of the Muscovite elite was of Tatar descent, and the task of historic research is to clarify their exact number and role in Russian society. So the first step to be done is completing a critical survey of the sources available, then compiling a detailed prosopography of Russian clans and families having a Tatar ancestor.

Let us commence with the sources. For compiling genealogies a wide variety of sources can be utilised, a complete list of which can safely be omitted. Only one group of sources deserves special mention here, being par excellence the source of genealogy: these are the so-called genealogical books (*rodoslovnye knigi* in Russian). Genealogies (in Russian *rodoslovtsy*) as a distinct genre of historical writing came into being only in the 1540's, during the reign of Ivan IV, but their antecedents can be traced back to much earlier times. Genealogical registers must have been kept with each boyar family in the 14th-15th centuries since it was of vital importance for all families to know when they entered the service of a certain grand prince or prince. Especially from the second half of the 15th century genealogies gained much in importance as it had become indispensably important to prove the time spent in the service, and the merits done in favour, of the Grand Prince of Moscow. Consequently, the emergence and growing popularity of genealogies are in close connection with the triumphant service principle and the rise and establishment of the new Muscovite servitor class. These processes fall roughly to the period of the hundred years between 1450 and 1550. By the 1540's the first steps to compile an official redaction of genealogical registers, the *Gosudarev rodoslovets* ("the sovereign's genealogical directory") were done. The attribute *gosudarev* really means that this book was in possession of the ruler, who used it for practical purposes, namely it was an indispensable tool in settling the so-called *mestnicheskie dela. Mestnichestvo* ("place order") was a special system of ranks of the Muscovite elite in which a very sophis-

[1] N. Zagoskin, *Ocherki organizatsii i proiskhozhdeniia sluzhilogo sosloviia v do-Petrovskoi Rusi* (Kazan', 1875). - For the Tatar element, see pp. 164-173, 194-195, 199, 212-213, 217.

[2] G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (Yale University Press, 1953), p. 370. It must be added that if we sum up Zagoskin's figure, the result is 158. The use of quotation mark by Vernadsky in the word 'Tatar' may refer to his understanding of the word as having a very loose ethnic connotation.

[3] Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985), p. 111. According to Halperin, the 156 aristocratic families form 20% of all the families. I cannot follow his calculation since the total number of families is 915, so 156 (or the correct number 158) are only 17,2%. If we narrow down our calculation to the 120 Tatar families, leaving out of the account the 38 "other Oriental" families, the percentage will be even lower, 13.1%.

ticated and elaborate hierarchy of the ruling families was established. The sovereign was compelled to appoint administrative and military dignitaries by consulting the genealogies and the registers of military and civil service, the so-called *razriady*. The combined evidence drawn from these sources was instrumental in forming the ruler's decision. The main function of genealogies in settling affairs of *mestnichestvo* was that it was made possible to prove the relationship with persons who in the past filled the same post as the new candidate was going to receive.

The final and official version of the *Gosudarev rodoslovets* was compiled in 1555, in the *Razriadnyi prikaz*, under the leadership of the *d'iak* Ivan Elizarov.[4] The *Gosudarev rodoslovets* did not survive in its protograph, but one can only establish its text on the basis of dozens of 16th-17th-century genealogical books and the so-called *Barkhatnaia kniga*, which preserved the best text of the *Gosudarev rodoslovets*. The *Barkhatnaia kniga* ("Velvet Book") was ordered to be compiled by imperial orders of 1682 and 1686.[5] It is nothing else but a revised version of the *Gosudarev rodoslovets*: members of new generations of the registered clans were added to the old lists, and several new clans that had been omitted from the version of 1555 sent in their genealogies to the *Razriadnyi prikaz*. The *Barkhatnaia kniga* was edited at the end of the following, 18th century by Novikov. In addition to the *Gosudarev rodoslovets* and the *Barkhatnaia kniga* which were the official genealogies, dozens of other genealogies have also come about which can be called private genealogies *(chastnye rodoslovnye* by Likhachev's term). One type of the private genealogies copied the *Gosudarev rodoslovets* and complemented it with data concerning new families. Another type of genealogical books evidently came into being independently of the official version, and most probably prior to it.[6] This, then is the main bulk of material we may draw on in our genealogical research.

There is a sharp difference between the structure of official and private genealogies. Most private genealogies start with the origins of the family in question, while this part is missing from the *Gosudarev rodoslovets*. This initial part of the private genealogies is called the *legend*. Most legends relate in a stereotyped form the *vyezd* "exodus, emigration" of the forefather of the clan. E.g. the origin of the the Saburov, Godunov, Pil'emov and Vel'iaminov families is given as follows: "In the year 6838 [= 1329–1330) a prince called Chet arrived from the Horde to the Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich, and his name in baptism became Zakhariia, and Zakharii had a son Aleksandr, and Aleksandr had a son Dmitrei Zerno; ... "[7] Many historians of the end of the past century had a skeptic attitude concerning these genealogical legends since most of them cannot be verified from other sources, and some of them contain evident errors in chronology. Some modern historians of Russia slavishly echo the opinions of great historians like N. Likhachev or S. Veselovskii, without adding anything new to their argu-

[4] It was N. P. Likhachev (*Razriadnye d'iaki XVI veka.* S.-Peterburg, 1888, pp. 405-415) who pointed out in a fine analysis that the Elizarov version of the *Gosudarev rodoslovets* must have come about after the conquest of Kazan (1551) and before the capture of Astrakhan (1556) . The fact that the official genealogical book was compiled in the heydays of Tatar campaigns deserves special attention and study.

[5] S. B. Veselovskii, *Issledovaniia po istorii klassa sluzhilykh zemlevladel'tsev* (Moscow, 1969), p. 14.

[6] Veselovskii, *Sluzh. zeml.*, pp. 13-14.

[7] *Vremennik* 10, p. 93.

mentation. On the basis of evident legendary elements present in 17th-century genealogies one cannot deny all pieces of information contained in the legends of the *vyezdy*. Up till now no one has tried to subject the genealogical legends to a critical scrutiny: the attitude of either super critical rejection or uncritical acceptance prevailed. I have followed this method of scrutiny in my work under preparation, and come to the conclusion that most legends of Tatar origin have a historical kernel, which must be unearthed from below the legendary layers.

The seeming popularity of genealogical legends concerning the forefather of the clan coming from a foreign land can evidently be connected with the popularity and spread of the legend concerning the Roman origin of the ruling Riurikid dynasty. According to this legend, the first official statement of which can be found in a letter of Ivan IV sent to King Sigismund August of Poland in 1556,[8] Riurik descended from Prus who was brother of the Roman Emperor Augustus. This legend was propagated in a number of written sources of the 16th century; it can be found in the *Stepennaia kniga*, in collections of annals and chronographs, and in state documents.[9] An interesting anecdote registered by the famous English traveller Giles Fletcher is very telling in this respect. Ivan warned his English goldsmith to keep an eye on his Russian aides since all the Russians are thieves. Seeing the Englishman smile, the Tsar asked him why he was smiling. The goldsmith explained that maybe the Tsar forgot that he himself was Russian. Ivan's answer sounds curious: "I am no Russe, my ancestors were Germans".[10] This legend concerning the Prussian (and in a simplified form German) and Roman origin of the Riurikid house must have come about in the second half of the 15th century, under Western influence. But it is evident that the rise of Moscow's power, the fall of Byzantium in 1453, the crush of the Great Horde in 1480, moreover Ivan III's marriage with the Byzantine princess Sophia Palaeologue were all significant factors in evoking this legend. The function of the legend was to magnify the glory of the ruling house of the Riurikids who were thus connected both to Byzantium and Rome. The theory of the Roman-Prussian-German origins of the Russian ruling house is an ideological phenomenon that was typical of the Western Middle Ages in the 12th-13th centuries. This genealogical mentality which has drawn its data mainly from the Bible and classical antiquity gave birth to the legend of Trojan origin of the French kings, and this mentality was responsible for the elaborate theory of the Hun origin of the Hungarian ruling elite. It is again an appalling sign of Russia's medieval character in the 16th century: it was, in many respects, at the mental level of 12th-13th-century Europe. The 16th-17th centuries are organic parts of the Russian Middle Ages, and the real advent of Modern Age was Peter the Great's rule for Russia. In addition to the alleged foreign origin of the ruling house, the ruling elite also distanced itself from the subject layers: this was again a medieval device used to express really existing social differences.

In the wake of the Riurikids' Roman-German genealogies it became fashionable to trace back the origin of families and clans to foreign forefathers. Espe-

[8] *SIRIO* 59, pp. 537, 519.

[9] For these sources see Likhachev, *Razriadnye d'iaki*, pp. 400-401.

[10] Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Commonwealth*, published in *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom. Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers*, ed. by L. E. Berry and R. O. Crummey (Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1968), p. 127.

cially the Prussian and German genealogies have become very popular and contain a great deal of unreal and fabulous elements, but any foreign lineage could have accounted for success. The obvious exaggeration in most cases in claiming Prussian or German ancestry made all foreign genealogical lineages suspicious to many researchers of Russian history. But the fact strikes the eye that the participation of clans of different foreign descent within the Russian gentry is proportionate to their possible historic role in Russia. The number of clans descending from the Riurikids, Lithuanian, Polish and Tatar ancestors are very probably proportionate on the whole, while that of the Germans and other Western European clans is disproportionate with their participation in Russian history. The frequent falsified claim to German origins cannot overshadow the fact that most clans to Tatar origins were real.

G. Alef is incorrect when he thinks that the falsified claim to Tatar ancestry must have first appeared with old untitled families in the late-15th century.[11] As examples let us have some of the best-known Russian boyar clans who claimed to the same Tatar ancestor: the Godunovs, the Saburovs, the Pil'emovs and the Vel'aminov-Zernovs. In a brilliant article,[12] S. Veselovskii has clarified the genealogical lineage of these families, and he came to the conclusion that these families were mighty landowners of the Kostroma region, already in the middle of the 14th century. He skilfully peeled off he later layers of the genealogical legends which he connected with the activity of the monks of the Ipat'ev Monastery in Kostroma. Only his final conclusion cannot be approved: he thinks that the legend of the Tatar origin of these families spread only in the last quarter of the 16th century, i.e. at a time when the Godunov family rose to the highest ranks of social hierarchy and Boris Godunov became the Tsar. This view can be discarded by two arguments. First, Bychkova has pointed out that the legend concerning the *vyezd* of the Tatar prince Chet can be found in the earliest so-called "annals redaction" (*letopisnaia redaktsiia*) of the genealogical books, in the 1540's.[13] Secondly, the Godunovs and Saburovs were ancient Muscovite boyar families tracing back their origins for two hundred years to the time of Ivan Kalita. Consequently, these families served the house of Moscow at least from Ivan Kalita's time, i.e. from the 1320–1330's. If there was an early tradition concerning their descent from a Tatar Prince called Chet, it must be authentic even if a historical person called Chet cannot be attested from the sources. Veselovskii himself was of the opinion that the genealogies of the 16th century are very reliable on the whole, and their data can be rejected only in case of extant data in our possession that expressly contradict them.[14] In this particular instance he turned back to his own principle, though in other cases, as e.g. with the Miachkov and Starkov families he accepted the Tatar lineage of their genealogies.

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[11] G. Alef, "The crisis of the Muscovite aristocracy: a factor in the growth of monarchical pawer", *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 15 (1970), p. 34. – Reprinted in G. Alef, *Rulers and Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Muscovy*. Variorum Reprints, London, 1983.

[12] S. B. Veselovskii, "Iz istorii drevnerusskogo zemlevladeniia. Rod Dmitriia Aleksandrovicha Zernova (Saburovy, Godunovy i Vel'iaminovy-Zernovy)", *Istoricheskie zapiski* 18 (1944), pp. 56–91.

[13] M. E. Bychkova, *Rodoslovnye knigi XVI–XVII vv. kak istoricheskii istochnik* (Moscow, 1975), p. 136.

[14] Veselovskii, *Sluzh. zeml.*, p. 21.

Finally, there is a deciding fact in judging the reliability of the genealogical legends. N. Likhachev paid attention to this important fact which he described as follows: " A Muscovite servitor could have a rightful claim only to that honour which his ancestor who first entered into the service of the Grand Prince of Moscow had acquired for himself. Besides this fact of direct or indirect contract with the prince, the question of origins fixed and developed in the genealogical legend could not affect the progress or decline of the clan in the *mestnichestvo*. This is one of the reasons why both the government and the people in Moscow were indifferent and uncritical with the foreign ancestors, but at the same time they thoroughly controlled references to the *gosudarev razriad*. The genealogical legends could not be controlled by anything, and there was no point to do so."[15] This statement has two further implications, which are of paramount importance to us. The "indifference" of the Muscovite people to the veracity of the genealogical legends was due to the fact that they did not contradict the historical reality concerning the persons and the time of their entrance into the Muscovite service. Had it been the opposite they would have protested against the unlawful claims of certain families, as they oftentimes really did: hundreds of the *mestnicheskie dela* witness to that effect. Since the Muscovite service could be well documented only from Ivan Kalita's time, i.e. from the 1320's, genealogical claims to Tatar ancestors who had served Ivan Kalita and his successors can be accepted with great probability, unless contradicted by some obvious facts of a historical or philological character.

In addition to the genealogical sources, the evidence of names must also be considered. There has been much misunderstanding concerning the evaluation of the Tatar layer of Russian onomatological material. It is an undoubted fact that there are hundreds of Tatar names in Russian sources of the 14th-17th centuries. Disregarding the persons who were indisputably Tatars, several thousand persons remain who were surely Russians. Tatar names were used instead of Christian names, and they can also be found in patronyms and semi-patronyms (*otchestvo* and *poluotchestvo*) and in family names. Otherwise, it was just in the second half of the 15th century that family names became consolidated, especially in the upper layers of the society. Seemingly there was no direct connection between the Tatar name and the origin of its bearer, but the reverse is true for the Russian Christian names: if a person bore a name like Vasilii or Grigorii, it is certain that he was a Christian, either a Russian or a newly baptised foreigner (called *novokreshchen* in the Russian sources). Muslim Tatars bearing a Russian name are unknown, while Christian Russians often bore Tatar names. Such typical Tatar names like *Akhmat*, *Aslan*, *Atalyk*, *Bulat*, *Murat*, etc. were used with great predilection by Russians.[16] Sometimes these names were used alongside with a Russian name. E.g. two princes of Yaroslavl' who were twin-brothers bore the names Semen *Tiumen'* and Mikhailo *Akhmet*.[17] The frequent use of Tatar names by Russians of the Muscovite period can be ascribed to a strange pa-

[15] Likhachev, *Razriadnye d'iaki*, p. 419.

[16] Hundreds of these names are registered in N. I. Tupikov, *Slovar' drevnerusskikh lichnykh sobstvennykh imen* (S.-Pb., 1903) and S. B. Veselovskii, *Onomastikon. Drevnerusskie imena, prozvishcha i familii* (Moscow, 1974).

[17] *Vremennik* 10, pp. 56, 147.

gan folk-custom otherwise known to many peoples in the world, namely the real name of a person had to be hidden before the evil ghosts and sorcerers. To this end not only Tatar names, but Russian names were also used, e.g. one of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's court favourites, Bogdan Matveevich Khitrovo had the real Christian name Iov which was revealed only after his death.[18] As far as family names of Tatar origin are concerned they are similarly indifferent to the origin of their bearers. Most Russian surnames originate from sobriquets or nicknames which could be of both Russian and non-Russian (among other Tatar) origin. The frequency and popularity of Tatar nicknames testify to the closeness of Russian and Tatar history in the 14th-17th centuries. In sum, we must emphasise that the origin of a Russian family and the origin of the name of the family must be treated separately. We are interested in families of Tatar descent who may borne either Tatar or Russian names. A Tatar surname in itself contains no hint concerning the Tatar origin of the family. E.g. the *Aksakovs* (Tatar name) had no Tatar, but Scandinavian (*variazhskoi*) ancestors; the *Teviashevs* (Tatar name) were of Tatar descent; and the *Arsen'evs* (Russian name) were also of Tatar blood. This essential distinction between the linguistic and historic evidence of names was totally disregarded by N. Baskakov in his book written on the Russian surnames of Turkic origin.[19] His work is a curious amalgam of historic and linguistic facts on a hearsay level put together at random. A serious monograph on Russian names of Turkic origin still awaits its writer.

In my monograph under preparation I am giving a complete list of Russian clans and families having Tatar roots in which the circumstances of each emigration (*vyezd*) and the prosopography of all members of the generations that lived until 1556 will be dealt with in detail. Later fates of the clan will be only occasionally touched upon. At this juncture I would like to speak of some of the lessons that can be derived from this material. To begin let me have a few remarks of a general character. My estimates concerning the number of Russian clans having Tatar origin will not much differ from those given by Zagoskin. I am dealing with 100 Russian clans or families whose Tatar forefathers (67 persons) entered Russian service prior to 1556.[20] But I would warn from overestimating statistics in our case because of the following reasons: 1. The name of a clan or family does not yield any hint concerning the number of members of the clan. One name may hide hundreds of persons

[18] E. P. Karnovich, *Rodovye prozvaniia i tituly v Rossii i sliianie inozemtsev s russkimi* (S.-Petersburg, 1886), pp. 48–49.

[19] N. A. Baskakov, *Russkie familii tiurkskogo proiskhozhdeniia* (Moscow, 1979).

[20] Zagoskin, *Sluzh. sosl.* pp. 194–195, 199 gave a list of 120 Russian families having Tatar descent. Since this list was based on that of the *Barkhatnaia kniga* compiled at the end of the 17th century and published in 1787 by N. Novikov, it comprises also families that had entered Russian service after 1556 throughout the 16th-17th centuries. In Zagoskin's list there are approximately 35 families whose Tatar forefathers had entered the Russian servitor elite between 1556 and 1700 (out of the 100 families of my list only 85 can be found in Zagoskin). This extremely low figure shows that Zagoskin's list is rather superficial for the later periods and it reflects only the tip of the iceberg. In the period between 1556 and 1700 there were thousands of Tatar families in the servitor elite (princes, murzas and service Tatars), e.g. in 1629 only in Arzamas, Alatyr', Kasimov, Kadom and Temnikov 1684 Tatar servitors were registered (*Kniga razriadnaia* 2, Spb. 1855, pp. 199, 200, 296). The high number of Tatar servitors and the abundant source material pertaining to them makes the choice of 1556 as a time limit quite obvious: the history of the Tatar servitor elite after the captures of Kazan and Astrakhan must be the subject-matter of a separate monograph (or perhaps monographs).

who lived throughout the centuries and may equally hide only a few dozen people. In statistics each name receives the same weight, a fact which is misleading. 2. Clans and families may die out on the father's line, e.g. three families (Baiterek, Kutumov, Sheidiakov) out of the five families having Nogay descent that submitted their genealogies to the *Razriad* died out by the end of the 17th century, and only the Iusupovs and Urusovs survived, both living up to the revolution of 1917.[21] Consequently, statistics do not give any orientation concerning the lifetime of a clan. 3. Statistics cannot give information about the time of the rise of a clan. 4. Finally, several families had one common ancestor, which may further distort the utility of statistics. E.g. the Apraksins, the Verderevskiis, the Kriukovs, the Shishkins, the Koncheevs, the Rotaevs, the Duvanovs, the Bazarovs, and the Porovatyis traced back their origin to the same Tatar ancestor Salakhmir. All in all, the sheer number Russian families having Tatar origin does not tell much of the real position of these families within the Russian gentry. It seems more profitable to have a closer look at these families from various angles. It is especially rewarding to investigate their chronological and social distribution within the Russian gentry.

Let us begin with the former. Though individual emigrations could take place at any time, there were certain historical periods when the Tatar migrations to Russia became more frequent. Especially in times of trouble and anarchy in the Tatar hordes, members of distinguished Tatar families fled to the Russian princes and grand prince and entered into their service. In the first hundred years of the Tatar Yoke only sporadic Tatar immigrations took place. In the earliest period, three Tatar emingrants are reported to have entered Aleksandr's Nevskii's service (1252–1263) whose descendants constituted the Matiushkin, Dolgovo-Saburov and Ogarev families. Around 1300 three immigrations are registered: Bakhmet came to Meshchera (from him the Princes Meshcherskie), Zhidimir entered the service of the Prince of Tver' (from him the Bibikov and Iakimov families), and Iandugand was accepted by Konstantin Vasil'evich, Prince of Nizhnii Novgorod (from him the Plemiannikov and Molvianinov families). In the first decades of Moscow's emergence, at the time of Ivan Kalita's reign (1328–1340) the number of Tatar immigrants does not seem to have considerably increased (five Tatars altogether from whom 8 families ramified later). The small number of Tatar emigres between 1250 and 1350 clearly reflects the political power relations of the first hundred years of the Tatar-Russian contacts. The Golden Horde was the mightiest power of the East European and Western-Central-Asiatic area; consequently it brought forth immigration rather than inducing emigration.

The period of anarchy following the death of Berdibek Khan in 1359 evidently contributed to the considerable increase of Tatar immigrations. The great upheaval and internecine wars within the Golden Horde pushed several members of the Tatar elite to find refuge at the Russians, and the Russian victory at Kulikovo in 1380 also enhanced the lure of Moscow in the Tatars' eyes. During the reign of Dmitrii Donskoi (1362–1389) and Vasilii I (1389–1425) 19 Tatar grandees entered into Moscow's service who were considered the founders and forefathers of 30 families of the Russian elite. At the same time in Riazan', 7 im-

[21] See V. Trepavlov, "Tiurkskaia znat' v Rossii (nogai na tsarskoi sluzhbe)", *Vestnik Evrazii = Acta Eurasica*, Moscow 1998, No. 1-2 (4–5), pp. 109–110.

migrations are reported; forefathers of 20 later Russian families entered into the service of the Grand Princes of Riazan'. After the incorporation of independent Riazan' into Muscovy in 1521, these families of the Riazan' Principality, by then totally Russianized, were automatically accepted by Moscow. At this juncture, let me mention a few prominent immigrations. In 1382 three young Tatar princes arrived to Moscow to enter into the service of the Grand Prince: Bakhty-Khozia, Kadyr-Khozia and Minat-Khozia. They were solemnly received and baptised to the names Ananiia, Azariia and Mikhail. The Teviashev and Fustov families descended from Bakhty-Khozia/Ananiia.[22] Or, in 1389 a certain Aslan-murza Chelibei arrived to Moscow from the Golden Horde with a retinue of 300 Tatars. The Grand Prince himself, Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi became his godfather and Aslan-murza was baptised to the name Prokopii. The grand prince married him with Mariia Zotikova Zhitova, daughter of one of his confidants and granted him with the town of Kremensk (in the Kaluga region).[23] Aslan-murza/Prokopii had three sons: 1. Arsenii, 2. Iakov, and 3. Lev. Arsenii is the forefather of the Arsen'ev and Isupov families, Iakov is the ancestor of the Iakovtsov, Kremenetskii and Zhdanov families, and Lev is the forefather of the Rtishchev, Somov and Pavlov families.

The influx of Tatar princes and murzas was continuous even after the first quarter of the 15th century. During Vasilii II's long reign (1425–1462) 9 Tatars entered into his service, founders of 13 later families. Here are just a few families among the many whose forefathers settled in Russia during that time: Derzhavin (1425), Baranov (1430), Talyzin (1436), Gotovtsov, Bakhmetev, etc. But the Tatar emigration significantly decreased during Ivan III's reign (1462–1505). Only four (!) Russian clans originate from Tatar immigrants of that time, namely the Naryshkins (1463), the Zagoskins (1472), the Karaulovs (1480), and the Elchins. It is an interesting phenomenon the roots of which I cannot explain at the moment. I am not sure whether Professor Pritsak is right who has suggested to me that Ivan III's conscious turn to the Byzantine heritage may be the clue in explaining this ebb of Tatar immigrations. From the beginning of the 16th century the Tatar emigration to Russia is again on the rise. Here are just a few names again: Dashkov, Kamynin (during Vasilii III's reign: 1505–1533), Ermolov (1506), Tenishev (1528), Shirinskii-Shikhmatov (1540). In the wake of the subjugation of the Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberia numerous Tatar princes and murzas entered into Russian service, but this is the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Tatar-Russian contacts.

Let us proceed now to the social position of families and individual members of these families of Tatar descent. In a stylish Muscovite wording it is the question about one's stay on the ladder of *mestnichestvo*. It is evident that the sooner the Tatar ancestor of a Russian family entered into Russian service the higher its prestige stood, not because as if ancestry in itself assured higher social status in the Muscovite hierarchy, but members of the clan had more time for service the merit of which could benevolently fall on their offspring. But the original social status and rank of the Tatar newcomer also weighed much in his acceptance in Moscow.

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[22] *Obshchii gerbovnik* 5, No. 34 (Likharev), No. 36 (Fustov) and 8, No. 13 (Teviashev); Bobrinskoi I, pp. 429–432.

[23] *Rod dvorian Arsen'evykh 1389 g.–1901 g.* Sostavil V. S. Arsen'ev (Tula, 1903), p. 4 sqq.

E.g. the Chingisid princes were acknowledged as the highest rank also in Russia, they came in rank after the Tsar himself, and even the boyars were one rank lower. As late as the mid-17th-century, in Kotoshikhin's words the Tatar *tsarevichi* of the Muscovite court were considered "higher in honour than the boyars".[24] If they were sovereigns in their *ulus* before coming over to the Russians, they retained their title of the tsar until the second half of the 17th century. But disregarding the tsars and tsarevichs of Kasimov there were no Chingisids in Russian service before the 1550s. At that time, in the hectic years preceding and following Kazan's capture, a real influx of Chingisid sovereigns and princes into Russian service began. The six-year-old Ötemish-Girey, son of Süyün-bike was baptised as Aleksandr in 1553. Later, the last Kazan Khan Yadigar (*Ediger* in the Russian sources) embraced Christianity in Moscow, his new Christian name being Simeon. He married Mariia Andreevna Kutuzova of an old Muscovite boyar family and lived until his death in 1565 in great esteem as Tsar Simeon Kasaevich.

But more important than one's own family background was the service rendered to the Grand Prince. The Muscovite ruling elite was made up of servitors of various degrees who had various social and ethnic backgrounds. The two basic categories of the elite, at least from the formal point of view, were the titled and the untitled or non-titled servitors. In ancient Russia there was but one hereditary title, that of a prince, in Russian *kniaz'*. Originally it was the title of a sovereign, so only Riurik and his descendants, and the foreign rulers bore it. The title was transferred on all male members of the family, consequently several hundreds of male members of the Riurikid princely family existed by the 14th century. From that time onwards, in the wake of Moscow's political and economic rise, more and more independent or semi-independent Riurikid princes entered into Muscovite service. In the same 14th century the influx into Muscovy of members of the Lithuanian princely house, the Gedyminovichi also began. Since according to the old Russian concept the princely title, that of a *kniaz'* could not be conferred on anyone, lest he was a born prince, it is quite evident that before the 16th century all princes of the Russian elite were either Riurikovichi or Gedyminovichi. Up till 1500 no foreign grandee, who entered into Muscovite service but had no hereditary princely title before, could become a prince in Russia. The fact that prior to 1500 there were only two clans of Tatar descent, whose members bore the princely title, clearly shows that no other Tatar clans were of princely descent.

Bakhmet, leader of the Tatar clan Shirin came to Meshchera, a territory between Moscow and Riazan', and became the forefather of the later Princes Meshcherskie. His son Beklemish became baptised as Mikhail.[25] The Meshcher Principality of the Bakhmet dynasty has gradually come under the ever-growing influence of Moscow, and soon lost its independence. Iurii Fedorovich, Prince of Meshchera, took part in the battle of Kulikovo in 1380 in support of Dmitrii

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[24] *O Rossii v tsarstvovanie Aleksiia Mikhailovicha*. Sovremennoe sochinenie Grigoriia Kotoshikhina. Izd. 3-e (S.-Pb., 1884), p. 29: "chestiiu boiar vyshe".

[25] *Barkhatnaia kniga 2*, p. 239. As for the date of the settlement of the Shirin princes in Meshchera, 6706 = 1197-98 is given in the genealogies, which is evidently an error; it is generally emended to 1297-98 which is a plausible date, being in accordance with the number of generations enumerated in the genealogy.

Donskoi, Grand Prince of Moscow, and was killed on the battlefield. Later, in the second half of the 15th century during Ivan III's reign the princes of Meshchera finally became servitors of the Muscovite rulers: they moved to Moscow and were granted landed properties elsewhere in Russia.

The princes Glinskiis were descendants of Mamai, famous kingmaker of the Golden Horde. He obtained such a power in the western half of the Golden Horde that the Russian sources often call him Tsar' Mamai, although the title *tsar'* was exquisitely used to designate the sovereign of the Golden Horde. At the beginning of the 15th century Mamai's grandson whose original name was not preserved in the sources, went over to the Lithuanian Grand Prince Vitovt, and was baptised as Leksa/Aleksandr by the Kievan Metropolitan. His descendants were the Princes Glinskiis who at the beginning of the 16th century joined to serve the Muscovite rulers. The Glinskiis are well known from Russian history of the 16th century, e.g. the mother of Ivan IV was born Glinskaiia.[26]

Prior to the 16th century, only the clans of Glinskiis and the Meshcherskiis bore the princely title among the families of Tatar descent. After Ivan III's death (1505) a new tendency can be observed, namely during some forty years seven Tatar princely families appeared in the Muscovite service: Akchurin (1509), Chegodaev (1524), Mansyrev (1526), Tenishev (1528), Shikhmatov (before 1540), Kostrov (1550), Enikeev (1551). This tendency became more manifest after the captures of Kazan and Astrakhan, and especially in the 17th century when already hundreds of Tatar princes were registered in the sources. What is the cause of this proliferation and inflation of the princely title among the Tatar clans of the 16th-17th centuries? The phenomenon can be explained by various, inner and outer, causes. By the end of Ivan III's rule the "unification of Russian lands" has been almost accomplished. With the exception of the Riazan' Principality all Russian principalities and the boyar republic of Novgorod were subjected to Muscovy which in terms of social relations meant all the former independent or semi-independent princes, the Riurikovichi and the Gedyminovichi became servitors or service princes (*sluzhilye kniaz'ia*) of the Grand Prince of Moscow. Hand in hand with this process the term *kniaz'* underwent a certain devaluation: first, because the original connotation of sovereignty was lost, and secondly, because the increase in the number of the service princes also contributed to the inflation of the term. As far as the outer factors are concerned, the final defeat of the Great Horde proper and the triumphant emergence of the independent Muscovite state. The logic of the imperial development dictated that the title of the Muscovite sovereign (*velikii kniaz'* 'grand prince'), though one grade higher than that of the legion of simple 'princes', was not enough to express the excellency of a huge empire's ruler. The khans of the Tatar successor states of the Golden Horde bore the lofty title *tsar'* in Russian, and the head of the Muscovite state could not be inferior even in this respect. The symbolic act expressing Russia's final emancipation from the Tatars was executed by Ivan IV by assuming the title *tsar'* in 1547. The above development made it possible that from the 16th century onward Tatar *bey*s and *murza*s, prominent members of the Tatar elite of

[26] For the Glinskiis' genealogies see *Vremennik* 10, pp. 84, 157–158, 195–196; M. E. Bychkova, "Rodoslovie Glinskikh iz Rumiantsevskogo sobraniia", *Zapiski Otdela rukopisei Gosudarstvennoi Biblioteki Lenina* 38 (1977), pp. 104–125.

non-Chingisid lineage were accepted as princes (*kniaz'ia*) in the Russian service. All the seven grandees who were taken over into Muscovite service between 1509 and 1551 had their abode and lands in territories between the Muscovite State and the Kazan Khanate, mainly in what was and partly is Mordovia. They recognised that the Russian danger is more imminent to them then their fellow Tatars' threat from the more remote Kazan Khanate, and joined Muscovy without hesitation. These entrances into Russian service were quite different from those that had befallen in the preceding two centuries. Earlier, the Tatar grandees emigrated to Moscow and received grants from the Russian ruler. Now the Tatar grandees like the Tenishevy, Enikeevy, and others, remained in their former semi-independent territory (*yurt* in Tatar and in Russian also) and offered their lands and service to the Grand Prince of Moscow who, as a sign of his acceptance of their vassal service, granted them the same territory where they had lived and what they had possessed since long (*iz stariny*). Thus, most clans of the Tatar elite of the Mordvin territories could save themselves and their privileged status also after the final conquest of the Kazan Khanate. The Russification and final absorption of some of these Tatar clans (or certain branches of them) began only after the middle of the 16th century. The investigation of this interesting process falls outside the scope of this presentation.

In contrast with the princely families whose rank was inherited and not obtained the preponderant majority of families having Tatar descent belonged to the non-titled part of the elite. But only members of few families reached the uppermost stages of social hierarchy, the ranks of *boyar* and *okol'nichii*. Moreover, by the 16th century only five families of Tatar descent were of the boyar rank: the Godunovs and Saburovs (these are related clans), the Glinskiis, the Davydovs, and the Romanov-Iur'evs, all the other social promotions took place later. E.g. the Baranovs, Naryshkins and Apraksins rose to higher positions and ranks only in the 17th century. Among the Muscovite aristocracy, throughout the whole period of the 14th-16th (moreover 17th) centuries descendants of the House of Riurik preserved their absolute predominance. But despite their predominance a considerable part of them underwent a gradual social degradation, and the new servitor families got into the forefront. In the 17th century, especially from the reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich onwards, dozens of new servitor families appeared in the Russian gentry who were of Tatar origin. Their mass appearance in the central Russian provinces can be ascribed to the Tsar's Christianising policies. The Tatar murzas, in case of their conversion to Christianity, were given the title prince (*kniaz'*). The pauperisation of the Riurikid princes and the appearance of a legion of minor Tatar princes (*kniaz'ki*) contributed to the devaluation of the princely title. This process went so far that according to an imperial edict of 1675 to address someone as prince, without using his name, was considered shame (*bezchestie*).[27]

So far, so good. I cannot recapitulate and condense the essence of a monograph in a few typed pages. So let me stop here and bring my article to conclusion by returning to Halperin's evaluation of the question of "Tatar blood" in the Russian upper classes. He says: "Only Tatars who converted, married, and be-

[27] Karnovich, *Rodovye prozvaniia*, pp. 68, 174–177.

came thoroughly Russianized could be assimilated into Russian society, hence it is doubtful that they, much less than their descendants such as Chaadayev, had much of a Tatar influence on Russian culture. Historians have spoken of the role of the "infusion of new blood" in describing the absorption of Germanic peoples into the Roman Empire or Slavs into the Byzantine Empire. These, however, were massive migrations important in terms of manpower and resources. The metaphor suggests that the genes of an assimilated people can effect cultural changes and borders on cultural racism. It is fair to say that some noble Russian families had ancestors and that some of their descendants made major contributions to Russian culture and society. Their contributions, however, had nothing to do with their ancestry."[28] Halperin is partly right, but there is an air of total misunderstanding in his statements. Nobody wants to state that the genes of an assimilated people effect cultural changes, and his threat of the danger of racism may be a popular slogan, but it is absolutely out of place here. On the other hand, nobody may flatly deny that assimilants of the first generation considerably contribute to the receptionist society by their cultural and social habits. And this was the case with the Tatars and the Russians too. A sizable portion of the Muscovite elite was of Tatar origin, and this fact had consequences. The Tatars not only influenced this or that segment of Russian life in the past, but also – as I have stressed further above – they became an organic part of Russia's life. In other words it is not a question of influence or impact – which always involves an outer and selective adaptation of different elements – but that of heritage. The difference between heritage and impact is essential. A heritage is always given to someone (be it property, culture or genes), and is independent of the will of the grantee. An impact, on the other hand, contains a certain momentum of human freedom: I am influenced, but I may resist the influence. The notion of heritage implies the inevitability of a natural law more than impact does. In this sense, let me affirm my basic assertion once more: the Tatars have not only had an impact on Russia, but they are also part of the heritage of the Russian history. This may serve a humble consolation to the different Tatar nations and ethnical groups who lost their one-time states (some of them 450 years ago: the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates), some of them 220 years ago: the Crimean Khanate). They may boast of the dubious glory of having contributed to the formation of one of the largest empires of world history.

[28] Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*, pp. 112–113.

XXI

Muscovite Diplomacy with the States of the Orient

Kievan Rus' as it was founded in the 9th–10th centuries was a European state. Though its Byzantine Christianity and its social structure differed in many respects from the Western Catholic Church and the West European feudal social texture respectively, there can be no doubt concerning Russia's loyalty and commitment to the Christian European oecumene. In the 11th–12th centuries, the feudal disintegration (*feodal'naia razdroblennost'*) of Rus' and the internecine wars of the Riurikid princely family caused much trouble and suffering to the population and slowed down the social and economic development. Though the princes often used foreign Oriental auxiliary troops (mainly Cumans = *polovtsy*, Pechenegs = *pechenegi*, Uzs = *torki*, and *chernye klobuki*) in their strives,[1] moreover frequently had intermarriages with the Polovets steppe aristocracy, the basic Christian and European orientation of Rus' remained unquestionable.

The Tatar invasion in 1240–1241 and the destruction of Kiev put an end to this two-hundred-and-fifty-year-old development. Then for approximately the same period of another two hundred and fifty years the Tatar rule (conventionally called the 'Tatar Yoke' – *tatarskoe igo*) halted the European trends in the Russian development and coerced the Russian principalities to follow and build up other patterns.[2] Russian statehood was practically lost, and the Russians, in their constant fight and strife with the Tatars, could rebuild their statehood, under Moscow's guidance, by bringing into existence Russian autocracy and bureaucracy. The Tatars' stimulating role in the nascence of Russian autocracy and bureaucracy is undeniable.[3] The first long period of Russian–Tatar contacts traditionally labelled as the 'Tatar Yoke' symbolically ended in 1480, while the second period by and large overlaps with the emergence and final construction of the Muscovite autocracy. This second phase extended roughly from 1480 till 1552–1556, the dates of the captures of Kazan and Astrakhan.[4] Then, with the creation of the multinational Russian Empire a long and flourishing period ensued which ended up with the decay of Muscovy and Peter the

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[1] Golubovskij, P. *Pechenegi, torki i polovcy do nashestviia tatar. Istoriia juzhno-russkikh stepei IX–XIII vv.* Kiev, 1884; Rasovskij, D. A. "Polovcy", *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7 (1935), pp. 1–18; 8 (1936), pp. 19–40; 9 (1937), pp. 41–55; 10 (1938), pp. 57–80; 11 (1939), pp. 81–114; Pritsak, O. "The Polovcians and Rus'", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (henceforth: *AEMAe*) 2 (1982), pp. 321–380; Golden, P. B. "Cumanica II: The Ölberli (Ölperli). The fortunes and misfortunes of an Inner Asian nomadic clan", *AEMAe* 5 (1985), pp. 5–29; Idem, "The Tribes of the Cuman-Qipchaqs", *AEMAe* 9 (1995–1997), pp. 99–122; Idem, "The *Cernii Klobouci*", *Symbolae Turcologicae: Studies in Honour of Lars Johanson.* (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 6.) Stockholm, 1996, pp. 97–107.

[2] For this period see Halperin, Ch. J. *The Tatar Yoke.* Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1986.

[3] Vernadsky, G. *The Mongols and Russia.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. (A History of Russia, Vol. 3.) – Russian translation: Vernadskij, G. V. *Mongoly i Rus'*. Tver'–Moskva, 1997; Halperin, Ch. J. *Russia and the Golden Horde. The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985; Ostrowski, D. *Muscovy and the Mongols. Cross-cultural influences on the steppe frontier, 1304–1589.* Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[4] For a recent assessment of the fall of the Kazan Khanate, see Pelenski, J. *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1453–1560s).* The Hague – Paris: Mouton, 1974.

Great's reforms at the end of the 17th century. In the following I will try to make a sketch and define the characteristic features of Muscovite diplomacy with the states of the Orient. Roughly it covers the two hundred years (1480–1696) stretching from Ivan III's reign to Peter the Great's period.

During the period of the Tatar Yoke, Russia was not an independent state entity, consequently the Russian principalities had 'foreign political relations' only with their fellow princes and their Tatar overlords. Former contacts with the ruling families and dynasties of Europe fell into oblivion, but exchange of envoys and diplomatic correspondence with the Golden Horde became a daily routine of the Russian princely courts. Russian envoys to and Tatar envoys from Saray was a regular practice and form of diplomatic contacts of the day. The princes, later the grand princes of Moscow acquired all their diplomatic skills through their daily dealings with the Tatars of the Horde. By Ivan III's time (1462–1505) the Muscovite state was fully equipped with all the tricks and techniques of steppe diplomacy.[5] The beginnings of written diplomatic documentation and the roots of the institutional foundation of the diplomatic affairs, also go back to the reign of Ivan III. By the beginning of the 16th century the *Posol'skii prikaz*, one of the best-founded institutions of the Muscovite state came into being. With its enormous written material, the documents of the *Posol'skii prikaz*, now preserved in the *Russkii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov* (henceforth *RGADA*), constitute the basic source material for the foreign policy and diplomacy of Muscovy. Questions of diplomacy were dealt with by the *Boiarskaia Duma*, the *Kazna* and the *Dvorets*. The chief administrators of the *Posol'skii prikaz* were the secretary-scribes (*d'iaki* and *pod'iachie*), the seal-keepers (*pechatniki*), the bailiffs (*pristavy*), and the interpreters (*tolmachi* and *perevodchiki*). The significance of this vast material concerning the foreign policy and diplomacy of the Muscovite state was recognised by Russian historians and excellent works were written on the theme. Suffice it to mention Belokurov's monograph on the *Posol'skii prikaz*,[6] and Savva's directory of the clerks of the same institution in the 16th century.[7] In the pre-revolutionary decades several volumes of documents were edited that treated the diplomatic material with different countries. One of the early pioneering enterprises was Novikov's undertaking to edit the Nogay material (*nogaiskie dela*) in five volumes, in the series 'Continuation of the Old Russian Library'.[8] Later, most text editions were published in the excellent series of the *Sbornik Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (henceforth *SIRIO*). The edition of Turkish, Crimean Tatar and Nogay materials was especially relevant and significant in this respect.[9] After the revolution for decades this topic was rather neglected, and it was only 25 years ago, in 1979, that research into and edition of the so-called *posol'skie knigi* began anew, within the framework of cooperation between the Institute of History of the USSR (from 1992: Institute of Russian History) at the Academy of Sciences of the

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[5] Keenan, E. L. "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy". *Slavic Review* 26 (1967), pp. 548–558.

[6] Belokurov, S. A. *O Posol'skom prikaze*. M., 1906.

[7] *D'iaki i pod'iachie Posol'skogo prikaza v XVI veke. Spravochnik*. Sostavil V. I. Savva. Red. S. O. Shmidt. M., 1983.

[8] *Prodolzhenie Drevnei Rossiiskoi Vivliofiki*. SPb., 1791. Part 7, pp. 225–353; 1792. Part 8, pp. 1–33; 1793. Part 9, pp. 1–315; 1795. Part 10, pp. 1–327; 1801. Part 11, pp. 1–315.

[9] *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Krymskoiu i Nogaiskoiu ordami i s Turtsieiu, 1474–1521 gg*. Sanktpeterburg, 1884–1885. (*SIRIO* 41, 91.)

USSR (from 1992: Russian Academy of Sciences) and the State Archives (*TsGADA*, since 1992 *RGADA*). It is N. M. Rogozhin's merit who undertook the coordination of this work, took all the envoys' books in his hands and wrote a thorough and excellent monograph on the theme.[10] In the following I shall mainly draw on his reliable enumeration and description of the material of the *Posol'skii prikaz*. Besides, several publications of different diplomatic materials have been edited during the past two decades. But even as of now, only 36 volumes out of the total of 93 *posol'skie knigi* are published, i.e. almost two third of the envoy books lie unpublished in the archives (!). So the intensive continuation of publications in this field is an imperative for future research.

The quantity of the *posol'skie knigi* and the documentary material of the foreign policy in general are in direct proportion with the significance of a state or polity for the Muscovite state. We can trace the number of the envoys' books from different contemporary catalogues (*opisi* in Russian), thus in the 15th century the following volumes of the *posol'skie knigi* were to be found: Holy Roman Empire (1 book), Polish Kingdom (1 book), Nogay Horde (1 book), Crimean Khanate (2 books). This picture clearly reflects the foreign political orientation of Muscovy in Ivan III's time; only the correspondence with the Kazan Khanate is missing because later this material of the archives was burnt down. By 1549, when the famous *d'iak* I. M. Viskovatyj became head of the *Posol'skii prikaz*, the number of envoys' books considerably increased in the *Carskii Arkhiv* where all state documents were preserved: Orthodox hierarchs and monasteries (1 book), Prussia (1 book), Holy Roman Empire (2 books), Polish Kingdom (3 books), Turkey (1 book), Nogay Horde (3 books), Crimean Khanate (9 books). By 1605 the increase of the material is even more susceptible: Orthodox hierarchs and monasteries (3 books), Prussia (1 book), England (2 books), Denmark (2 books), Holy Roman Empire (9 books), Rome (3 books), Sweden (7 books), Polish Kingdom (24 books), Georgia (2 books), Persia (5 books), Turkey (3 books), Nogay Horde (10 books), Crimean Khanate (21 books).[11] The quantity of envoys' books displays a clear-cut picture of Muscovy's changing foreign relations before 1613, the date of the enthronement of the new Romanov dynasty. If one considers that in the first half of the 16th century the contacts with the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates were vitally important in Russia's foreign policy, it is rather strange that Kazan and Astrakhan are missing from this impressive list of Oriental foreign partners. But everything becomes obvious if we know that contrary to appearance Muscovy in fact pursued intensive correspondence with these Tatar states. After the Russian capture of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1555) the diplomatic material concerning these two khanates was placed in the newly found *Prikaz Kazanskogo dvorca*, which became the central organ in the Russian administration of the two conquered khanates. After the conquest of the Siberian Khanate, the administration of Siberian matters was also attached to this *prikaz*, but later in 1637 a separate organisation, the *Sibirskij prikaz* took over the administration of Siberia.[12] But alas, the early material of the *Prikaz Kazanskogo dvorca* dating before 1626, was demolished by fire, so the written records of the Kazan and Astrakhan envoys' books all perished. Only some

[10] Rogozhin, N. M. *Posol'skie knigi Rossii konca XV – nachala XVII vv.* M., 1994.

[11] For a description of different characteristics of the envoys' books prior to 1605, see Rogozhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–183.

[12] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, pp. 227–228, 220.

traces of these contacts can be found in the Nogay, Crimean Tatar and Nogay diplomatic materials.

The *Posol'skie knigi* constitute only a part of the precious diplomatic materials of Muscovy. In the archives a lot more has been preserved since all materials of a Russian diplomatic mission, be it outgoing (*ot''ezdy*) or incoming (*priezdy*), were preserved separately in the so-called *stolbcy* (columns). This material comprises all diplomatic correspondence, diplomas, texts of treaties, envoys' instructions (*nakazy*), memoranda (*pamjat'*), accounts (*statejnye spiski*), translations into and from different languages, etc. This composite material was then edited in the form of *posol'skie knigi*, but later, especially in the 17th century most of them remained in the form of *stolbec*. So if one adds also this material to the evidence of the envoys' books, in addition to the enumerated countries (Nogay Horde, Crimean Khanate, Turkey, Georgia, Iran) a few more Oriental states also appeared at the end of the 16th century among Moscow's new foreign political partners. Thus, the first Russian contacts with the Kabardian, Kumyk and Cherkess princes in the Caucasus go back to 1559 (*RGADA*, fond 115). The first Russian contacts with Central Asia appeared also in this period: with Bukhara they began in 1585 (*RGADA*, fond 109),[13] with Khiva in 1590 (*RGADA*, fond 134),[14] with the Kazak Hordes in 1595 (*RGADA*, fond 122),[15] moreover with the Oyrots of Djungaria also in 1595 (*RGADA*, fond 113),[16] and with the Mongols in 1608 (*RGADA*, fond 126).[17] Now, basing on the combined evidence of the *posol'skie knigi* and the material preserved in *stolbcy*, it seems instructive to have a look at the date of the first documents of the relevant materials in question. The written contacts with the Crimea began in 1474, with the Nogay Horde in 1489, with Turkey in 1496, with the Kabardian, Kumyk and Cherkess princes in 1559, with Georgia in 1586, with Iran in 1588, with Bukhara in 1585, with Khiva in 1590, with the Kazak Hordes in 1595, with the Oyrots of Djungaria also in 1595, and with Mongolia in 1608. It becomes evident that at the beginning of the 17th century, on the eve of the *Smuta*, the great anarchy, Russia had ever intensifying contacts with a wide range of countries in the Orient. Between 1500 and 1600, in one hundred years Muscovite Russia conquered three Tatar khanates (Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberia) thereby opening the gates of Siberia toward the East and keeping the lower Volga region under her firm control. But while Russian expansion to the East in Siberia was rather smooth, since no states of Russia's dimension could halt Russia's imperial drive, in the southern steppe zone the Nogays and especially the Crimean Tatars were still virulent and manipulated by the Ottoman power, they often hindered the Russian plans.

Subsequent to the long period of *Smuta* and the stabilisation of the Russian state in 1613 by the enthronement of Mikhail Romanov, Muscovite Russia saw a long period with broadening foreign relations also in the Orient. In 1616 the first official contact with the Kalmyks occurred (*RGADA*, fond 119), and in 1640 the Russians established contacts with the khans of Balkh (*RGADA*, fond 106).[18] The two great

[13] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, p. 94.
[14] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, p. 96.
[15] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, p. 95.
[16] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, p. 97.
[17] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, p. 72.
[18] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, pp. 84, 94.

civilizations of the Orient, China and India also soon appeared on the diplomatic horizon of the Russian state. The first Russian–Chinese diplomatic contact dates back to 1619 (*RGADA*, fond 62), and the first Indian mission was in 1646 (*RGADA*, fond 56).[19] By the end of the 17th century Muscovite Russia was a gigantic Eurasian great power with full-fletched diplomatic contacts with all Asiatic (and European) powers. Its power and strength lied in its vast extension in the East and its fantastic natural and human resources. But the constant expansion demanding a centralised economy and society equipped with a strong military, undermined its strength and capability for spiritual and social renewal and innovation. That was the basic problem of Muscovy when Peter the Great succeeded to the throne of Russia in 1682.

In my paper I endeavoured to give a brief outline of the diplomacy of Muscovite Russia with the states of the Orient in the period 1480–1680. During these two hundred years Muscovy, a local power of Eastern Europe became a huge Eurasian great power. Moscow's success, in addition to its undisputed military power, was in no small measure due to its sensible diplomacy. In the official institution of Muscovite diplomacy, in the *Posol'skii prikaz*, documents, by the tens of thousands, were produced, preserved and handed down to posterity. This invaluable archival material, only a small part of which has hitherto been published, still yields innumerable data for writing and rewriting history of Russia and the adjacent states, among others those of the Orient. It is therefore an eminent task of Russian and international research, present and coming generations as well, to go on with publishing this material and make at least a part of it accessible to scholarly research.

[19] *TsGADA. Putevoditel'* I, pp. 71–73.

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INDEX

'Abbâs, first son of Baba-Tükles: XIX 743
'Abd al-Ghaffâr Qïrïmî: XVII 234, 240, 242, 244, 246
'Abdullāh II: VI 560
'Abdu'l-raḥman, second son of Baba-Tükles: XIX 743
'Abdurrazzāk Šähzādä Baḫšï: X 125, 126
'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Alīka: VI 559
'Alî-shâh Khvârazmî: XVII 243
'Alīnāq: VI 557
'Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq: X 125
'Aynî: XVII 241
'Umar-šayḫ: VI 559

Aba: XVI 264
Abaġa-ḫān: VI 558
Abaqa, Abqa: XVI 264, 265, 270
Abdullah Battal: XV 191
Abïčqa: XVI 264
Abû Bakr: XIX 739, 740, 741, 743, 744, 745
Abū'l-fidā, Abû'l-fidâ: XIV 289; XVII 243
Abūlġāzī, Abû'l-ghâzî XII 5; XVII 235, 240, 250
Abušqa: VIII 55
Adrianopel, Adrianople: XVIII 227; III 264, 265, 266, 267, 269
Agathopolis: III 266
Aḥmad Täküdar: VI 557
Akčana: VI 552
Akchurin (family): XX 111
Akkerman, Byolagrodt, Bialogradt: XVIII 222, 223, 229
Akropolités, Geórgios: III 268, 269
Aksakovs: XX 107
Alačï: XVI 264, 270
Alačuq: XVI 264
Alans: II 337; XII 5; XVI 261, 264, 269, 271
Alatyr: IV 32, 36
Alef, Gustave: XIX 744; XX 105
Aleksandr: XX 103
Aleksandr *see* Ötemish-Girey and Leksa
Aleksandr Jaroslavič, Russian prince: XVI 267
Aleksandr Ukovič: IV 30, 31
Aleksei Mikhailovich: XX 107, 112
Aleksej, Metropolitan: V 189; X 117; XI 482
Algu: XVII 247
Allāh Qulï: VI 558
Allsen, Thomas T.: XIII 105, 109
Almaliġ: VII 205
Alp-ata: XVI 264
Altaic languages: VI 555; XI 483
Amīr Muḥammad Qāsim: VI 559
Amīr Nawrūz: VI 558
Amīr Qanbar: VI 558
Amīr Qutluġ-šāh: VI 558
Amīr Šāh-Malik: VI 559
Ananiia *see* Bakhty-Khozia
Anatolia: III 263; XIII 111; XIV 299; XVIII 228
Anchialos: III 266
Andrej, Andiräy (*bitigči*): X 118
Ansbert: II 338
Antonin *see* Kapustin
Apraksins: XX 108, 112
Aq-Qoyunlu (dynasty): X 125; XV 198
Aqsamas: XVI 264, 266
Arab, Arabic: IV 15, 24 VIII 51, 58; IX 1, 8; X 124, 125; XIII 107, 109, 110, 116, 122, 123; XIV 291, 299, 300; XV 182, 186, 187, 188, 192, 194, 196, 197, 198; XVI 262; XIX 740, 743, 745, 746
Arap: XVI 264, 265
Aral Sea: I 31
Arat, R.R.: X 125
Arghun Khan, Arġun: VI 558; XI 483
Ari *see* Votyak
Ariq Böke: XVII 247
Arkadioupolis: III 266
Armenians: XII 5; XIII 109, 117; XIV 290, 296; XVI 262, 264, 265
Armeno-Kipchak: VII 202
Árpád: II 337; IV 3, 16
Arsen'evs: XX 107, 109
Arsenii: XX 109
Ärsimän: XVI 264

Arskoe pole: IV 11
Artem'ev: IV 9, 11, 38
Artïq Imanay ḫāfiẓ, *abyz Artyk Imanaev*: XV 182
Asack *see* Tana
Asen, Asan, Esen, Osen': I 31; II 335, 340, 341; III 267; V 191
Asenid (family), Asenids: II 336 *et passim*; III 268
Ashdjâr va asmâr: XVII 243
A-shih-na: II 341
Ashraf ad-Dîn, Sayyid: XVII 248, 249
Asia Minor: III 264, 265
Asin': II 341
Aslan: XX 106
Aslan-murza Chelibei/ Prokopii: XX 109
Astrachan, Astrakhan: IX 2; X 122; XIII 108, 109; XVII 246, 247; XVIII 213, 214, 215, 216, 221, 223, 226, 231, 233, 234, 235, 237, 239, 241, 246; XIX 733; XX 101, 109, 112; XXI 28, 30
Atalyk: XX 106
Athyras: III 266
Attila: II 337
Augustus, Roman Emperor: XX 104
Avars: I 28, 29
Ayapa: II 340
Aydar: XIV 298
Azariia: XX 109
Azerbaijan: XV 198
Azov *see* Tana

Baba-Tükles, Baba-Tükdi: XIX 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 746
Bābur: VI 554
Bāburnāmä: VI 553; XV 185
Babylonia: XIV 296
Bachmet, son of Usejn: IV 30, 31
Bachty Keldi: VI 552
Badā'i al-luġat: VIII 55
Baġalïn: XVI 264, 265, 270
Bagdad: XVII 244
Baḫčisarāy: XIV 290
Baḫǰat al-luġat: VIII 55
Baḫtiyārnāma: X 124
Baiazet, Sultan: XVIII 227
Baiterek (family): XX 108
Baiterekovy: XIX 735
Bâkharzî *see* Sayf ad-Dîn Bâkharzî
Bakhmet: XX 108, 110
Bakhmetev (family): XX 109
Bakhty-Khozia/Ananiia: XX 109
Balasaġun: VII 204
Balašov: IV 21, 22
Baldouin: III 264, 265
Balkans: II 342; III 263, 268
Balkh: XXI 31
Baltıçaq: XIX 740
Baranovs: XX 112
Baraq: XVI 264
Barkhatnaia kniga: XIX 733, 734, 745, 746; XX 103
Barthold, W.: XV 187; XVII 230
Basarab: I 32
Bashkir: IV 8, 9, 16, 22, 34, 35 VIII 52, 53; XV 191, 192, 199
Basileios II Bulgaroktonos: I 31; III 268
Baskakov, N.A.: XX 107
basqaq, pa-ssŭ-ha: VII 201 *et passim*; XI 479
Bastï, Quman prince: XVI 267
Batu khan: XIII 119; XVI 267; XVII 232, 235, 236;
Bavčï: XVI 264, 266
Bayalun: XVI 264, 265
Baydu: VI 558
bâyza: XVII 241
Bazarovs: XX 108
Beijing: XIII 112, 120
Bek-Hajï: VIII 55
Bek-khoja: IX 1
Beklemish/Mikhail: IV 30; XX 109, 110
Bela Veža: IV 29
Belebej: IV 29
Belev: V 190
Belokurov, S.A.: XXI 29
Bennigsen, A.: XII 2
Berdibek ḫān, Berdibeg Khan: IX 7; X 117; XI 482; XII 3, 4, 9; XX 108
Berezin, I.N.: VII 201; VIII 55, 58; IX 1, 2; XI 484; XII 1; XIX 739
Berke Khan: XII 4; XVII 230 *et passim*
Berkecher: XVII 250
Beroé: III 266
Besermens: IV 7
Bibars: IV 35
Bibikov (family): XX 108
Bielski, Marcin: XVIII 219, 223
Birsk: IV 14, 29
bitigči: X 118
Bizyé, Vize: III 264, 266
Black Sea, Schwarzes Meer: I 28; XIII 106, 110, 111; XVI 267; XVIII 213
Bodrogligeti, András: XIII 111, 114, 115
Boiarskaia Duma: XXI 29
Bokhara, Bukhara: VI 560, 561; VII 204, 205; XVII 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 247; XXI 31
Boraliġu: VI 558

Boraqshin: XVII 243, 244, 246
Boril: III 267
Boris and Gleb: XVI 266
Boris Godunov: XX 105
Borovkov, A.K.: VIII 54
Branas: III 266
Brockelmann, K.: VIII 52; IX 5
Budagov: IX 3
Budapest: XVIII 220
Buddha: XVII 246
Buinsk: IV 28
Bukhara *see* Bokhara
Bukowin: XVIII 226
Bulat: XX 106
Bulgar: XVII 238
Bulgarian Empire, First: II 335, III 268
Bulgarian Kingdom, Second: I 31; II 335; III 263, 264, 269
Bulgarian Tribes, Bulgarians, Bulghar period: I 28 *et passim;* II 335 *et passim;* III 264, 267; V 191; XV 188
Bulgar-Turks: I 28, 29
Buqa amīr: VI 558
Burhân ad-Dîn: XVII 248
Burhān-i Qāṭi': VI 556
Būriļja: VI 558
Burtasa: IV 21
Bychkova, M.E.: XX 105
Byzantine (Empire, Church), Byzantium: I 31; II 337, 341, 342, 343; III 263, 264, 267; XII 4; XIII 117; XVI 260, 261, 267; XX 104

Caffa *see* Kaffa
Čalïš Sayyadī: VI 558
Candlemas: III 265, 266
Cânibek Khan: XI 482; XIX 745
Capchat *see* Kipchaks
Čaqa: XVI 264
Carpathian Basin: I 29, 30; II 337; IV 3, 16, 18; XIII 105
Carskii Arkhiv: XXI 30
Caspian dialects: XIII 115
Caucasus, Caucasian: I 28; XII 5; XVII 234; XVIII 213, 216, 233
Čeboksary: IV 13
Čekalin, F.F.: IV 38
Čembar: IV 21
Central and Eastern Europe: V 194
Central and Inner Asia: V 187; XIII 116; XIX 741, 742, 746
Čerkes beg, governor of Solgat: XII 3, 4, 9
Čern': IV 28
Chabičev, M.: VIII 53
Chagatay, Tschagatai: VI 550, 553, 554, 556, 557, 560, 561; VIII 53, 54, 55; IX 5; X 116; XI 483; XV 186, 187, 188; XVII 234, 247
Ch'ang Ch'un: IV 9, VII 205
Chegodaev (family): XX 111
Cheremis, Meri: IV 10, 11, 18, 23, 26, 34
Cherkess, Zikhoi: XVI 269, 271; XXI 31
chernye klobuki: XXI 28
Chet: XX 103, 105
Chih-lu-ku: VII 204
China, Chinese: VII 203, 204, 205; X 120; XII 10; XIII 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112; XVII 238
Chingis Khan: IV 9, VII 203; 204; X 120, 123; XII 9; XIX 741, 744
Chingisid, Dschingisiden: XII 9; XIII 106; XVII 237, 246; XIX 741, 744; XX 110
Chóniatés, Nikétas: II 338; III 265, 269
Chu river: VII 203
Chukchi: IV 35
Chuvash: I 29; IV 4, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 34, 37, 39, 40
Cilicia: XIV 296
Clauson, Sir Gerard: VIII 54; IX 5, 6; XV 186
Cna River: IV 26, 29, 30, 34
Čočaq: XVI 264
Codex Cumanicus: VII 203, 204; VIII 53, 54; XII 7; XIII 109 *et passim*; XVI 268
Constantinople, Konstantinopel, Istanbul: III 263, 265, 266, 267; X 124, 125, 126; XVI 263; XVII 235; XVIII 216, 217, 224, 226, 227, 228, 230, 234
Constantinus Porphyrogenitus: I 30; IV 3; XII 4
Crimea, Crimean: XIII 111; XVI 260, 265, 267, 268, 271; XVII 234
Crimean Tatars *see* Tatars of Crimea
Csángó: IV 16
Cseles, Martinus: IV 3
Čufut qale *see* Qïrq yėr
Cuman-Kipchak Confederation: I 31; IV 30
Cumano-Bulgarian: II 339, 340; XII 7
Cuman, Qumans / Polovtsi, Polovtsy, Polovec / Valwe / Xarteš: I 31, 32; II 335 *et passim*; III 263 *et passim*; IV 20; XII 6; XIII 109 *et passim*; XVI 261, 262, 264, 267, 268, 269, 270; XXI 28
Cyprus: XVII 235
Cyril and Methodius: I 33
Cyvil'sk: IV 13, 28

Czeglédy, Károly: IV 5, 6

d'iak, *d'iaki*: XX 103; XXI 29, 30
Dacia: XVIII 225
Dacian continuity: I 33
Ḏahabî: XVII 237, 239, 240
Dan'jar, ruler of Kasimov: IV 7V 192
Danube: I 28; III 263, 265; XIII 119; XVIII 225
Danubian Bulgarian State: I 28; II 339
Daonion: III 266
daruġa, *daruġači*: V 187 *et passim*; VII 201, 202, 205, 206; XI 479
Dashkov (family): XX 109
Dasht-i Qipchaq: XVII 246
Dastūr al-kātib: X 120, 121
Davydovs: XX 112
Delhi: XVII 248
Dendermonde, Thierry de / Tierris Tendremonde: III 265
Denmark: XXI 30
Derzhavin (family): XX 109
Desericzky Ince / Innocentius Desericius: IV 3
Devlet Girey: XVIII 215, 223
DeWeese, Devin: XVII 231
Didymotoichon: III 265, 266
Djamal Qarshi: XVII 239
Djebe: VII 203, 204
Djungaria: XXI 31
Djûzdjânî: XVII 232, 237, 238, 239, 240, 248, 249, 250
Dmitrei Zerno: XX 103
Dmitrii (Ivanovich) Donskoi, Dmitrij Donskoj: IV 30;V 191; XX 108, 109, 110
Dnjepr, Dnieper, Neper: XVIII 222, 225
Dobrudscha: XVIII 222
Doerfer, G.: VI 557; VIII 58; IX 4; XV 185
Dolgovo-Saburov (family): XX 108
Dominicus Polonus: XII 5
Don River, Tanais: I 29; IV 8, 24; XII 5; XIII 109, 111, 118; XVIII 215, 222, 223, 225, 230, 231, 234, 237, 245
Dóros: XVI 260
Drüll, Dagmar: XIII 111
Dschalairiden: X 121
Dschingisiden *see* Chingisid
Duvanovs: XX 108
Dvorets: XXI 29

Eastern Europe: I 28, 33; IV 24; XIII 116
Eastern Hungarian: IV 3, 4, 8
Eastern Slavic: IV 24
Eastern Thrace: III 266
Eastern Turkic: XII 6; XIII 109
Eckmann, J.: XII 7
Edige, Edigü: XII 9; XIX 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745
Ediger *see* Yadigar
Efremov: IV 27
Egor'evsk: IV 26, 27
Egypt: XIII 106, 109, 120; XVII 232, 251
Elabuga: IV 29
Elchins: XX 109
Eliberdej: V 190
Elizarov, Ivan: XX 103
emildši : VI 551, 552, 553
Emīn Giräy sulṭān: VI 552
Eminek: V 188
Enbars murza: IV 11
England: XXI 30
Enikeev (family): XX 111, 112
Enikej Tenišev: IV 8
Enrico Dandolo: III 264, 265
Erdélyi, István: IV 5
Ermolov (family): XX 109
Esen *see* Asen
Esperükh: I 28, 33
Etilia see Volga
Eurasia: XIII 116

Fadlullāh: XV 198
Fänārī-oġlī Qādī 'Alī: X 125
Fatih Mehmed II, Sultan: X 125
Fazylov, E.: XII 7
Fedor Alekseevich: XIX 734
Fejér, György: IV 4
Feognost, Metropolitan: XI 482
Fergana: VII 204
Finno-Ugric: I 29, 30, 33, 34; IV 7, 8, 23, 25, 26, 37, 38
Fletcher, Giles: XX 104
Franciscan: XIII 110, 113; XVI 268
Fustov (family): XX 109

Gabain, A. von: IX 5
Galata, Gallata: XVIII 227, 230
Ġāzān-ḫān: VI 558
Gedyminovichi: XX 110, 111
Genoa, Genoan, Genoese: XII 5, 7, 11; XIII 110, 111, 112, 122, 123; XVI 263, 268
Georgia: XXI 30
German: VI 552
Gerol'dmeisterskaia kontora, Geroldiia: XIX 736
Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd: XII 4
Gibeletto, Francesco (Franceshin) de: XII 7; XIII 122
Girey dynasty: XII 5; XIX 737

Gleb *see* Boris and Gleb
Glinskiis: XX 111, 112
Godunov (family): XX 103, 105, 112
Golden Horde: I 32; IV 8, 9, 11, 16, 19, 30, 36; V 187, 188, 191, 192, 195; VI 551; VII 201, 202, 203, 206; VIII 55, 57, 59; IX 1 *et passim*; X 115 *et passim;* XI 479, 483, 484, 485; XII 1 *et passim*; XIII 105 *et passim*; XIV 289, 290; XV 181, 182, 185, 192, 195, 197, 198, 199; XVIII 213, 214; XIX 741, 744, 745; XXI 29
Golden, Peter B.: XIII 109, 115
Golycin, Fürst: XVIII 221
Gorbatov: IV 28
Gorochovec: IV 27, 33
Gorodec: IV 31
Gorodišče: IV 13
gosudarev razriad: XX 106
Gosudarev rodoslovets: XIX 733, 735; XX 102, 103
Goths: XVI 271
Gotovtsov (family): XX 109
Great Horde: XX 104, 111
Greco-Bulgarian Empire: III 267, 268
Greek, Griechisch, Griechen: III 264 *et passim*; XII 5; XIII 109; XIV 289; XV 187; XVI 260, 261, 264, 268, 271; XVIII 224, 225, 226
Grekov, B.: IX 1; XVI 261
Grigor'ev, A.P.: IX 1, 2; XII 2; XIII 120
Grigor'ev, V.V.: IX 1
Güčülüg: VII 203, 204
Gurkhan: VII 204
Györffy, György: IV 5

Ḥâccı Bayram ḫoca: XI 480
Ḥâccı Muḥammad: XI 480
Ḥâccike: XI 480
Hādī Atlāsof: XV 191
Ḥâdjdji-Tarkhanlu al-Ḥâdjdj Niyâz: XVII 246
Haimon Mountains: II 338
Ḥaǰi-Girey, Ḥâccı Girey: V 188, 189, 195; VIII 56; XI 480, 485; XII 8; XIV 290, 295, 297, 298, 299; XV 187, 188, 196, 197; XIX 738
Ḥâǰǰī Qurban ḥâfiẓ: XV 184
Ḫākānī: XV 199
Halasi Kun, T: XV 181
Halič: VIII 51
Halperin, Ch. J.: XX 102, 112
Hammer-Purgstall, J.: IX 2; X 115, 124
Ḥaydar ʿAlī sultān: XV 184, 188
Ḥaydar Mïrza: VI 558
Hebros *see* Marica
Henry, Emperor of Constantinople: III 265, 266
Hérakleia *see* Perinthos
Herat: VI 560; X 124, 125
Hermanarich, Gothic king: IV 38
Ḫıḍır: XI 480, 481
Ḫïḍïr-Ḫoǰa ḫān: VI 558
Ḫoca Aḥmad Yasawî: XIX 742, 743
Ḫoca Maḥmûd: XI 480
Holy Roman Empire: XXI 30
Ho-ssŭ-mai-li *see* Ismail
Huihui: XIII 108
Ḫulānī, Ḫulwan: XIV 296
Ḫulāsa-i ʿAbbāsī: VIII 54
Hülegü: XVII 243, 244, 245
Hülegid: VI 561; XV 198
Hungaria Maior, Magna Hungaria: IV 3
Hungarian (language): I 29, 30, 33; IV 40
Hungarians, Hungary: I 29, 33; II 336, 337, 342; IV 3 *et passim*; XIII 119; XVIII 222; XX 104
Huns: I 28, 29; III 263; XVI 260; XX 104
Ḫurramšāh Sulṭān: VI 559
Ḫuš Rā'ī: VI 558
Ḥusayn Bayqara: VI 559; X 123
Ḥusayn Mïrzā: VI 559
Ḫuš-kildi: VI 558
Ḫusräv Šāh: VI 553
Ḫusräv u Šīrīn: VI 550; VII 203; VIII 51, 53; XIV 296

Iakimov (family): XX 108
Iakov: XX 109
Iakovtsov (family): XX 109
Iakubovskii / Jakubovskij, A.: IX 1 XVI 261, 262
Iandugand: XX 108
Ibn al-Aṯīr: XVI 262
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: XIV 299
Ibn Khaldûn: XVII 241, 242, 243
Ibrahim Edhem: XVII 246
Ibrāhīm ḫān: XV 181, 183, 184, 194
Ik (river): XV 192
Ilkhans, Ilkhanid: VI 555, 557; VII 206; X 121; XI 479; XII 6; XIII 106, 112, 120; XV 197; XVII 232
Ilyās beg, governor of Solgat: XII 3, 4, 9; XIII 122
Imre: II 336
Inaq Qutlu-Boğa: XII 9
India: XVII 232; XXI 28
Inner Asia: VII 206; X 125
Innocentius Desericius *see* Desericzky Ince
Ioann Vasil'evič *see* Ivan Vasiljevič

Ioannica: II 336, 338
Iov: XX 107
Ipat'ev (Monastery): XX 105
Ipat'evskij spisok: IV 23
Iran: IV 24; VI 561; VII 205, 206; XII 6; XIII 105, 106, 111, 112, 114, 120, 121; XV 197, 198; XVIII 215; XXI 31
irek: XV 187
Irtysh: XIII 119
Ismail, Nogay prince: XIX 732
Ismail (Ho-ssŭ-mai-li): VII 204
Istanbul *see* Constantinople
Isupov (family): XX 109
Italian: XVI 263, 271
It-mängü: XVI 264
Iurii: II 340
Iurii Fedorovich: XX 110
Iusupov family: XIX 732, 733, 736, 737, 744, 745, 746
Iusupov, Ivan Dmitrievich: XIX 736
Ivan (Danilovich) Kalita: V 193; XX 103, 105, 106, 108
Ivan Jaroslavič: IV 31
Ivan Vasiljevič / Ioann Vasil'evič, Grand Prince of Moscow: IV 7, 11; V 192; VI 552; XIV 291, 298
Ivan Vasiljevič, Grand Prince of Rjazanj: IV 7, 17; V 192
Ivan III: V 192; XIX 739; XX 104, 109, 111; XXI 29
Ivan (Fedorovič) IV: IV 7, 8, 11, VI 552; XVIII 213, 214; XX 102, 104, 111
Iža: IV 21
Izzaddīn Kaykavūs: XII 4

Jadrin: IV 13
Jakubovskij *see* Iakubovskii
Jalâl ad-Dîn Ṣûfî, Sayyid: XVII 248
Janäkä sultān: XV 184
Jānibek Khan, Zenebek: IX 7, 8; XII 3, 4, 6, 9, 10; XIII 122; XIV 297, 298, 299; XVI 271
Jansufu, Yanṣūfī: VI 551, 552
Jaransk: IV 29
Jebe: XVI 263
Jeretamir: II 337
Jews: XII 5; XIV 295; XVI 262
Jihān-šāh Qara-Qoyunlu: XV 196
Jireček, K.: II 336
Joči, Jochid: VI 553; XII 5; XIII 106, 108, 119; XVII 233, 234, 238, 247
Jordanes: IV 37
Julianus: IV 3, 6, 8, 19
Jur'ev: IV 27

Jurchen: VI 555
Jurij Dmitrievič: V 191
Juwaini, Juvainī: VII 204; XIII 106; XIV 290

Kabardian: XXI 31
Kabars: I 30
Kadom: IV 34, 35
Kadyr-Khozia: XX 109
Kaffa, Caffa: IX 6; X 117; XII 2, 4, 5, 7; XIII 110, 111, 122, 123; XIV 297; XVI 263, 268
Kalivar: XVII 237
Kalka: XIII 119
Kalmuk, Kalmyk: VI 555; XV 186; XXI 31
Kaloyan, Johannis: II 335 *et passim*; III 264 *et passim*
Kaluga: XX 109
Kamennyj Brod: IV 35
Kamynin (family): XX 109
Kapustin, Antonin: XVI 261
Karachay-Balkar: VIII 51, 53; IX 6
Karaim: VI 550, 556; VIII 51, 53, 54; IX 6; XIV 289, 296, 297, 299; XV 186
Karaite Jews: XIV 290
Karakalpak: VI 550, 551; IX 5; XIV 297; XV 195; XIX 741
Karakhanid: VII 202 *et passim*; XIII 116; XV 199
Karakitan: VII 204, 205
Kara-Nogay: XIX 744
Karaulovs: XX 109
Kāš: VI 553
Kāsān, *K'o-san*: VII 204
Kāšġar: VI 558
Kāšġarī / Kāšγarī, Maḥmūd: VI 549; VIII 55; IX 6; XIII 116
Kasım Paşa, Beglerbeg von Kaffa: XVIII 215, 216
Kasimov Khanate: IV 7, 8, 26, 31 V 192; VI 551, 553, 561; XIX 738; XX 110
Kasimov Tatars: IV 32, 33, 34, 36; XX 101
Kašira: IV 27
Kaspisches Meer: XVIII 213
Kazak: VI 550, 551, 554; VIII 51, 52; IX 6; XIII 124; XIV 297; XV 186, 195; XIX 741; XXI 31
Kazakhstan: XIII 119
Kazan Tatar *see* Tatars of Kazan
Kazan, Kasan, Kazanian: IV 4, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19 20, 22, 28, 32, 34 ; VIII 56; XV 181, 183; XVIII 213, 214, 215; XIX 733, 739; XX 101, 109, 111, 112; XXI 28, 30
Kazna: XXI 29

Kerç, *Kerč'*: XI 480; XVI 260
Kerensk: IV 13
Khabichev, M.A.: IX 5
Khalkha: VI 55; XI 484
Khanbaliq: XIII 107
Khazars, Khazar Empire: I 28, 29; IV 24; XII 5; XVI 261
Khersonés, *Korsun'*: XVI 260
Khitrovo, Bogdan Matveevich: XX 107
Khiva: XV 195; XXI 31
Khochakhmat Babatukli: XIX 744
Khorasan: VI 560; XIII 115
Khoresmian Turkic: XII 7
Khudjand: XVII 240, 241
Khwarezm: XIII 108, 112, 116; XIV 297; XVII 234, 238, 241, 246, 247
Kiev: IV 22, 24, 29; XIII 119
Kievan Rus': II 339; XXI 28
Kilia: XVIII 226
Kimek: XIII 116
King's Dictionary, Rasulid Hexaglot: XIII 109
Kipchaks, Qïpčaqs: I 31; VI 550, 551, 556; VIII 52; IX 5; XI 484; XII 7; XIII 109, 115, 116, 118, 119, 121, 123, 124; XIV 297; XVI 262, 268, 269
  Capchat, Capthac: XIII 118
Kirakos of Gandzak: XVII 249
Kirgiz: VI 550, 551, 554; VIII 51, 52, 55; IX 4; XIV 297; XV 186, 195
Kirilov: IV 20
Kirsanov: IV 12
Kniezsa, István: IV 5, 6
Kolomna: IV 26
Koncheevs: XX 108
Konstantin Vasil'evich: XX 108
Konstantinopel *see* Constantinople
Konzyk Zekmesya see Küçük Çekmece
Koran: VIII 54
Korsun' see Khersonés
Košaj murza: IV 33
Kosak, Cosack: XVIII 221, 230, 235, 236
K'o-san see Kāsān
Kostroma: XX 105
Kostrov (family): XX 111
Kotoshikhin, G.: XX 110
Kozlov: IV 12
Kozmodem'jansk: IV 28
Krakau: XVIII 218
Krasnaja Dubrova: IV 20
Kraszewski, J.I.: XVIII 217, 218
Kremenetskii (family): XX 109
Kremensk: IV 21 XX 109
Krénon: III 266
Krim *see* Crimea
Kriukovs: XX 108
Krugloe: IV 27
Kuban Bulgarian State, Magna Bulgaria: I 28
Kuban River: I 28, 29
Kubnja: IV 27
Küçük Çekmece, *Konzyk Zekmesya*: XVIII 228
Kudajgun, Kuday Kul: IV 11
Kuftin, B.A.: IV 38
Kugušev, Prince: IV 8
Kuguševs: IV 35
Kul'sheev Abdul: XIX 736
Kulevajkaja: IV 21
Kül-bustān ḫatun: XV 184, 185, 188
Kulikovo: IV 31; XX 108, 110
Kulunčakov, Asan / Qulunčaq, Hasan: XV 182
Kumyk: VI 550, 551; IX 5, 6; XXI 31
Kurat, A.N.: XV 183; XVIII 216
Kurbskij, Prince: IV 34; VI 552
Kurdish: XIII 115
Kurmyš: IV 13
Kutlumbet'ko Kutlugušev: XV 182
Kutumov (family): XX 108
Kutumovy: XIX 735
Kutuzova, Mariia Andreevna: XX 110
Kuun, Géza: IV 5; XIII 111

Lama: IV 27
Latin: II 338; III 264 *et passim*; XII 2 *et passim*; XIII 109, 110, 114, 117, 121, 122
Latin Kingdom: III 263, 264, 268
Lavrent'evskij spisok: IV 23
Leksa / Aleksandr: XX 111
Lev: XX 109
Ligeti, Lajos: IV 5; XIII 113, 115
Likhachev, N.P.: XIX 734; XX 103, 106
Lipeck: IV 28
Lithuanian, Litauen: XII 1; XVIII 213; XX 105, 110
Lob': IV 27
Lopasnja River: IV 25
Louis de Blois: III 264, 265
Luṭfī: X 125

Macedonia: III 267
Machmet: V 191
MacKenzie, D.: XIII 114
Magna Bulgaria *see* Kuban Bulgarian State
Magna Hungaria *see* Hungaria Maior
Mäläk: XVI 264
Malik Baḫšï: X 124

Malkaites: II 337
Malmyš: IV 14
Mamai: XX 111
Mamak, Mamaq: VI 551, 552
Mamay, Prince: VI 552
Mameluk, Mamluk: II 341; XIII 106, 109, 116, 120, 123; XVII 232, 251
Manchu: VI 555; VIII 55, 57
Mansūr Baḫšï: X 124
Mansyrev (family): XX 111
Marco Polo: XIII 107
Marica, Hebros: III 265
Marquart, J.: XIII 118
Marvazī: XIII 117, 118
Marwārīd: VI 559
Mas'ūd Mïrza: VI 553
Matiushkin (family): XX 108
Matković, Petar: XVIII 220
Matthew of Edessa: XIII 117
Mâvarâ'an-nahr: XVII 247
Maximilian, Habsburg, Kaiser: XVIII 214
Mehmet Paşa, Großwesir: XVIII 214
Mekka: XIX 742, 743
Melenki: IV 26
Melioranskii, P.M.: XIX 741
Mengli Girey *see* Meŋli-Girey
Mengü-Temir, Mengü-Temür: VII 203; XII 4; XIII 119
Menzelinsk: IV 14
Meŋli-Girey, Mengli Girey: V 189, 192; VIII 56; XI 481, 482; XII 8; XIV 290, 291, 292, 294, 297, 298, 299; XV 184, 198
Meri *see* Cheremis
Merja: IV 22, 23, 26
Merlin, Stepan: IV 35
Meščera, Meshchera: IV 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; XX 108, 110, 111
Meščerskij gorodok: IV 33
Meséné: III 266
Meshcherskie, Meshcherskiis (Princes): XX 108, 110, 111
Mestnichestvo, *mestnicheskie* dela: XX 102, 106, 109
Mészáros, Gyula: IV 5
Michail, Metropolitan: V 189
Michajlo Ivanov: IV 33
Michajlov: IV 27
Middle East: XIX 741, 745
Middle Oka region: IV 6, 23, 24
Middle Turkic: VIII 51, 54, 55, 59; XV 198
Middle Volga region: IV 3 *et passim*;
Mikhail Romanov: XXI 31
Mikhail *see* Beklemish
Mikkola, J.: IV 37
Minat-Khozia: XX 109
Min-Bulat: V 191
Mïr 'Alī Šïr Navā'ī: VI 556
Mïr Qul-baba: VI 560
Mi'rājnāma: X 124
Mïrza Abū Bakr: VI 558
Mïrza Muḥammad Ḥusayn Qurkān: VI 558
Mittelasien *see* Inner Asia
Moesia: I 31
Mohamed, the Khwaresmshah: VII 204
Mokša River: IV 26, 29, 34
Mokšan: IV 32
Mokshas: IV 37, 38
Moldavia, Moldau: I 28; XIII 119; XVIII 222
Molvianinov (family): XX 108
Monchi-Zadeh, Daoud: XIII 111, 114, 115
Mongols, Mongolia, Mongol Empire: I 32; IV 4, 5, 9 10, 19; V 187, 188, 194; VI 551; *et passim*; VII 201 *et passim*; VIII 52 *et passim*; IX 2, 4; X 116, 120; XI 479 *et passim*; XII 6, 8, 9; XIII 105 *et passim*; XV 185, 188, 197; XVI 263; XXI 31
Möngke, Great Khan: XVII 235, 236, 242, 247
Monomakh, Vladimir: II 341
Moór, Elemér: IV 5
Moravcsik, Gy.: XVI 268
Mordovia: IV 22, 23, 26 XX 111
Mordvins: IV 7, 10, 11, 18, 19, 21, 23, 26, 34, 37, 38
Moscow: IV 26, 27, 30; 31; 32, 33 V 191; XIV 292, 298; XVIII 213, 214, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 233, 237 ; XX 101 *et passim*; XXI 28, 29
Možar, Mažar, Meščer, Meščerjaks, Mišer, Mišar, Mišär, Madžar, Mačar, Magyar: IV 4 *et passim*; V 195
Možarovskij, A.F.: IV 12
Mufaḍḍal: XVII 238, 250
Muġal: XVI 264, 265
Mu'în ad-Dîn *see* Naṭanzî
Muḥabbatnāma: X 124
Muhamed'jarov, Sh.F.: XV 183
Muḥammäd 'Alī ḫān: XV 184, 186
Muḥammäd Azīz ḫān: XV 184, 186
Muḥammad Girāy: XIV 292, 300
Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mïrza: VI 560
Muḥammad Mahdi Xān: VIII 54
Munkácsi, Bernát: IV 4, 5, 7, 14, 38
Muqaddimat al-adab: VIII 55
Muralej, Prince: IV 11
Murat: XX 106

Murom: IV 26, 27, 31, 33
Muroma: IV 22, 23
Murtazâ-Sayyid: XIX 742
Mûsâ, Nogay prince: XIX 739, 740
Muscovite (state, diplomacy), Muscovy: I 32; IV 11, 19; XVIII 231, 233, 235, 236, 237; XX 101 *et passim*; XXI 28, 29, 32
Muß, Musz (river): XVIII 230
Mutafchiev, P.: II 339; II 340

Nagoj, Afanasij: XVIII 214, 215
Nagy, Géza: IV 5
Naiman: VII 203, 204
Najm ad-Dîn Kubrâ: XVII 239, 242
Narovčat: IV 21, 28
Naryshkins: XX 109, 112
Nâṣir ad-Dîn Maḥmûdshâh: XVII 248
Nasonov, A.N.: VII 201
Naṭanzî, Muʿînu'd-dîn (Muᶜîn ad-Dîn): XVII 232; XIX 740
Navā'ī *see* Mīr ʿAlī Šīr Navā'ī
Nawšahr: VI 558
Neapolis: III 266
Németh, Gyula: IV 16, 39
Nevskii, Aleksandr: XX 108
New Persian: IX 4
Nikaia, Nikaian Empire: III 263, 267
Nizhnii Novgorod, Nižnij-Novgorod: IV 13, 20, 22, 27, 28, 33, 36; XX 108
Nižnij Lomov: IV 21, 28
nogaiskie dela: XXI 29
Nogay, Nogaier: IV 33; VI 550, 552, 561; VIII 51; IX 5; X 122; XI 483; XVI 263; XVIII 223; XIX 733, 735, 739, 740, 741, 744, 745, 746; XXI 29, 30
Normans: IV 25
Novgorod: IV 24, 31; XX 111
Novikov, N.I.: XIX 733, 735, 745; XXI 29
novokreshchen: XX 106
Nubra: VI 558
Nûraddîn, Nûr Âdîl: XIX 740, 742, 744
Nūr-Dävlät: XIV 298, 299
Nürnberg: XVIII 220, 222, 223
Nuvayrî: XVII 243, 244

Ob Ugors: IV 8
Obolenskij, Fürst: X 119
Očakov, Ozakaw: XVIII 223, 229, 247
Odessa: XVIII 221
Odoev: V 192
Ogarev (family): XX 108
Oghuz kaghan: XVII 239
Ögödey: XVII 247
Oguz: IX 5; XIII 116, 121
Oguz-Kipchak: XII 7
Oka region: IV 6, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 41
okol'nichii: XX 111
Old Ottoman: IX 4
Old Russian: IV 16, 18; IX 4, 9;
Old Turkic: VIII 52; IX 5; XI 484
Oleg Ivanovič: IV 31
Onogurs: XVI 260
Onogur-Bulgars: XVI 260–61
Oqas, Vaqqâs: XIX 740, 744
Oraqčï: XVI 264
Ordos: VI 555
Orenburg: IV 20, 22; XV 192
Orlov: IV 14
Osa: IV 29
Őrség: IV 16
Osen' *see* Asen
Osip Okinfov: X 118
Ostrogorsky, G.: III 268
Ostyaks: IV 8
ot"ezdy: XXI 31
Ötemish Ḥâdjdji, Ötemiš Ḥājji: XII 1; XVII 234, 244, 246; XIX 742
Ötemish Ḥâdjdji Ta'rîkhi: XVII 234
Ötemish-Girey/Aleksandr: XX 110
Ottoman (Empire), Osmanisches Reich: III 263; IV 16, VI 550, 554; IX 8, 9; X 124, 125; XII 4, 5; XIV 297, 300; XV 181, 195; XVI 263; XVII 234; XVIII 213, 214, 216; XXI 31
Otwinowski, Erazm: XVIII 218
Oyrots: XXI 31
Ozakaw *see* Očakov
Özbek: XVII 232
Özbek Khan: IX 7; XII 3, 4, 5; XIII 121; XVI 271; XIX 739, 742, 743, 744

Pachymerés, Geórgios: XVI 271
Palaeologue, Sophia: XX 104
Palata Rodoslovnykh Del: XIX 734, 735
Panédos: III 266
Paschalis de Victoria: XVI 270
pa-ssŭ-ha see basqaq
Pavet de Courteille, A.: VI 550, 553; VIII 54
Pavlov (family): XX 109
pechatniki: XXI 29
Pechenegs: I 31; II 342; IV 5; XVI 261; XXI 28
Pelenski, J.: XV 183
Pelliot, P.: VII 202; VIII 58, 59; XIII 107; XVII 244
Pentecost: III 269
Penza: IV 13, 20, 21, 22, 26, 28

Perekop: XVIII 223, 229, 246
Perényi, József: IV 6
perevodchiki: XXI 29
Perewolok, Perewloka: XVIII 215, 235
Perinthos, Hérakleia: III 266
Perm: IV 29
Persia, Persian: VI 556, 557, 560; VII 204, 205; VIII 55, 58; IX 1; X 121; XI 479; XII 6; XIII 105 *et passim*; XIV 291, 296; XV 185, 186, 187, 192, 194, 195, 196, 198; XVI 262; XVIII 226; XXI 30
Peter the Great: XX 104; XXI 28–9, 32
Peter: I 31; II 335, 336, 338; III 267
Philip the Fair: XI 483
Philippoupolis: III 265
Piemontese, A.M.: XIII 113
Pil'emov (family): XX 103, 105
Plano Carpini: XVI 267
Plemiannikov (family): XX 108
pod'iachie: XXI 29
Pojma: IV 21
Pokrov: IV 26
Poland, Polish: VI 552; XIII 119; XIV 292; XVIII 213, 214, 219, 220, 221, 226; XXI 30
Polo *see* Marco Polo
Polo, Nicolo and Matteo: XVI 263
Polovtsi, Polovtsy, Polovec *see* Cumans
Polumeščera: IV 21
Pontic Region: I 30, 31; XII 2, 4; XIII 118; XVIII 225
Pontic Steppe: I 30; XIII 116, 117
Pope Innocent III: II 335, 336
Pope John XXII: II 337
Pope Pius II, Aeneas Sylvius: IV 8
Porovatyis: XX 108
posol'skie knigi: XXI 29, 30, 31
Posol'skii prikaz: XXI 29, 30, 32
Pra River: IV 20
Pre-Mongol: IX 5
priezdy: XXI 31
Prikaz Kazanskogo dvortsa: XXI 30
pristavy: XXI 29
Pritsak, O.: XX 109
Prokopii *see* Aslan-murza Chelibei
Proto-Hungarian: IV 16, 25
Proto-Slavic: IV 16
Prowadj: XVIII 226
Prussia, Prussian: XX 105; XXI 30
Pugačov, E.: IV 36
puti: V 193, 194, 196

Qādir-ʿAlī-bek: VI 553; XIX 738, 739, 741, 743
Qalqashandî: XVII 237, 239, 240
Qanbar Mīrzā: VI 559
Qannûdj: XVII 237
qantar, *kantar*: IX 9
Qara-köl: XVII 246
Qaraqorum: XIII 106, 120
Qara-Yūsuf Qara-Qoyunlu: XV 194
Qarši: VIII 54
Qaruqan: XVI 264
Qazvīn: VI 558
Qazvînî: XVII 232
Qïlïč: XVI 264, 267
Qïpčaqs *see* Kipchaks
Qïrïm / Qrïm, Staryi Krym: XII 4
Qïrq yėr / Qırq-yir, Ćufut qale: V 189; XI 480, 481; XIV 289, 290, 292, 294, 295, 297, 300
Qoja: III 264
Qubay-noyan: VI 558
Qubilay: XVII 247
Qulunčaq *see* Kulunčakov
Qumans *see* Cumans
Qur'ān: IX 8
Qutadġu Bilig: VII 202; IX 6; X 115, 124, 125; XIV 291
Quṭb: VI 550; VII 203; VIII 53; XIV 296
Qutlu-bey: XVI 264
Qutlu Buġa: V 189; XIV 295; XV 185
Qutluġ: XVI 264
Qutlu-Qaya: XIX 739, 740
Qutlu-Temür: XII 3, 4, 9

Radimiči: IV 24
Radloff, W.: IV 38; VIII 57; IX 3; X 124; XIX 742
Ramaḍān, governor of Solgat: IX 7; XII 3, 4, 6, 9; XIII 122
Rašīdu'd-Dīn, Rašīd al-Dīn, Rashîd ad-Dîn: VIII 58; XII 5; XVII 232
Rasovskij, D.A.: III 268, 269
Rasulid Hexaglot see *King's Dictionary*
Razriad: XIX 734, 735, 736
Razriadnyi prikaz, razriady: XX 103, 108
Rhaidestos: III 266
Rhómania: III 267
Riazan', Grand Duchy of Rjazan': IV 8 *et passim*; XX 108, 109, 110, 111
Richard, Jean: XVII 231
Riccardus: IV 3
Riḍîya: XVII 237
Riurikids, Riurikovichi, House of Riurik: XX 104, 110, 111, 112; XXI 28
rodoslovnye knigi, *rodoslovtsy*: XX 102
Rogozhin, N.M.: XXI 30
Roman Empire II 338

Romanians: II 338, 342
Romanov (dynasty): XXI 30
Romanov-Iur'evs: XX 112
Rome: XX 104
Ros, Rosalani, Reussen: XVIII 224, 225
Rostov: IV 22
Rotaevs: XX 108
Rousion, Rousse: III 265, 266
Rtishchev (family): XX 109
Rubruc (Guillelmus), Rubruck: XIII 118; XVI 262; XVII 234
Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars: XVII 251
Rus, Russia, Russian (empire, state): I 28, 32, 33; II 339, 340, 342; IV 4 *et passim*; V 187 *et passim;* VI 551, 552; VII 201, 203; VIII 58, 59; IX 1 *et passim*; X 118; XI 482; XII 1, 5, 6, 8, 9; XIII 106, 116, 117, 121; XIV 291, 292, 297, 298; XV 181, 182, 191, 194, 195; XVI 267, 271; XVIII 213, 214, 215, 216, 222; XIX 732, 733, 737, 739, 744, 745; XX 101 *et passim*; XXI 28, 32
Russian Annals: IV 10, 18, 22 V 191; VII 201
Russisch *see* Russia

Sa'ādet-Girey: V 189; VIII 56; XI 482
Sa'īd Ḫoǰa: VI 559
Sablukov, G.S.: VII 201
Saburov (family): XX 103, 105, 112
Šack: IV 8, 9
Safa-Girey: IV 32
Safargaliev, M.G.: XIX 744
Sagay: XI 483
Šāh-Dānä: VI 558
Ṣāḥib Giräy (Girey) ḫān: VI 552; XI 482; XV 181, 185, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197
šaḥna, šiḥna: VII 204, 205
Šāhruḫ: VI 559
Saint Stephen: I 30
Sakkākī: X 125
Salemann, G.: XIII 111, 115
salïġ: XV 197
Saliḫ: XVI 264, 265, 269
Samarkand: VI 560; X 124;XVII 248
Samoilovich, A.N.: IX 1, 3, 4
Šams al-Ḥusn: VI 559
Sanglaḫ, Sanglax (Chagatay-Persian dictionary): VI 554; VIII 54; XV 185, 186
Šap-Girey: IV 33
Sapožok: IV 12
Saqlab: XVII 238
Saqsin: XVII 238, 240
Saratov: IV 20, 21, 22
Saray: IV 31; XII 5; XIII 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112; XVI 267, 270; XXI 29
Saraychik, Saraychïq: XIII 108, 112; XVII 240, 241, 246, 247
Sarï-sapar: XVI 264
Šarkaja: IV 21
Sartaq: XVII 232, 235, 246, 249, 250
šartnāma: XIV 291, 292
Savva, V.I.: XXI 29
Sayf ad-Dîn Bâkharzî: XVII 239, 240, 241, 246, 247
Sayf ad-Dîn Khvârazmî: XVII 242
Sayf-i Sarāyī: XIV 296
Šäyḫ Aḥmäd: XV 190, 192, 193
Šäyḫ Muḥammäd: XV 185
Ṣayḫ Uways: XI 484; XV 196
Sayın khan: XI 480
Säyyid Aḥmäd, Sayyid Aḥmad: XI 480; XIV 297, 299
Sayyid-Naqıb: XIX 742
Schwarzes Meer *see* Black Sea
Scythians: III 268, 269; XVIII 222, 224, 225, 226
Secret History of the Mongols: VIII 56
Seistan: XV 187
Selim II, Sultan: XVIII 217, 233, 235
Seljuk: VII 205; XII 4
Sélymbria, Silivri: III 266
Serdobsk: IV 21, 22
Sergač: IV 13
Severjane: IV 25
Şeyh Süleyman: VI 550, 553; VIII 54
Shadjarat al-atrâk: XVII 232, 233, 238, 239, 246
Shams ad-Dîn al-Iṣfahânî, Shaykh: XVII 236
Shams ad-Dîn Il-tutmïsh, Sultan of Delhi: XVII 237
Shaybanid: VI 560, 561
Sheidiakov (family), Sheidiakovy: XIX 735; XX 108
Shibanid Abû'l-ḫayr: XIX 740, 744
Shikhmatov (family): XX 111
Shirin (Tatar clan): XX 110
Shirinskii-Shikhmatov (family): XX 109
Shishkins: XX 108
Shishmanids: I 32; II 336
Shor: XI 483
Siberian Khan: IV 35; V 191; XX 109; XXI 30
Siberian Turkic: XI 484; XIII 116
Sibirskii prikaz: XXI 30

Šigalej: IV 33
Sīghnaq: XVII 240, 241
Sigismund August: XIV 292; XVIII 217; XX 104
Šikšalejka: IV 21
Simbirsk: IV 13, 20, 22, 28, 36
Simeon *see* Yadigar
Sinop: XIV 299
Sirāj al-qulūb: X 124
Širin: IV 33
Sjademka: IV 20
Slavs, Slavic: I 30, 33; II 342; IV 5, 15, 22, 25, 26; XII 8; XVI 266
sluzhilye kniaz'ia: XX 111
Smirnov, I.N.: IV 12
Smith, J.M.: VIII 59
Smuta: XXI 31
Sofija Vitovtovna: X 118
Soldaia *see* Sugdaia
Solgat: IX 8; XII 3, 4, 9
Soltaj: VI 552
Somov (family): XX 109
Songur: XVI 267
Sonġur: XVI 264, 269
Sorqaqtani-begi: XVII 242
South-Russian Steppes: II 339
South-Slavic: I 28, 31
Spassk: IV 12, 20, 28
Špilevskij, S.M.: IV 15
Spuler, B.: VII 202; IX 3; XVI 261; XVII 244
St. John, monastery near Saray: XIII 110, 113
Staryi Krym *see* Qïrïm
stateinye spiski: XXI 31
Steingass, F.J. (Persian-English Dictionary): XV 186
Stepanov, R.: XV 182, 183
Stepennaia kniga: XX 104
stolbets, *stolbtsy*: XXI 31
Sübetei: XVI 263
Sudak, Sudaq *see* Sugdaia
Sudaq synaxarion: XVI 261, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271
Sudogda: IV 26
ṣūfī: XVII 241
Sugdaia / Sugdak / Sudak / Sudaq / Soldaia, Сурож: XII 5; XVI 260, 261, 262, 263, 266, 267, 268
Sultan: XVI 264, 265
Sunqur: XVI 264, 269
Sütköl: XV 188
Süyün-bike: XX 110
Suzdal, Suzdalian: IV 5, 8, 14
Svijažsk: IV 10
Svjatoslav, Prince: IV 29
Sweden: XXI 30

Ṭabaqât-i Nâṣirî: XVII 233
Tabriz: XIII 111, 112
Tadjik: IX 4
Tadkirat al-avliyā: X 124
Tajdulla, Taydulla: V 189,190; XI 482; XII 3, 4, 9
Talyzin (family): XX 109
Tambov: IV 8, 12, 19, 20, 22, 26, 28
tamġa, *tamġači*: IX 3; XII 10; XV 187
Tana, Asack, Azov: IX 6, 7; X 117; XII 2, 4, 5, 11; XIII 110, 111, 112, 121; XVIII 216, 221, 223, 230, 234, 235, 236, 241, 243, 245
Tanais *see* Don River
Tangut: XIII 106
Taranchi: VI 553
Taranowski, Andrzej: XVIII 216 *et passim*
Ta'rîkh-i arbaᶜ ulûs: XVII 233
Ta'rîkh-i Shaykh Uways: XVII 232
tarkhans, tarchany: IV 8, 9, 11, 16, 18, 19; XIV 290
Tărnovo, Tirnovo: II 336; III 265
tartanaq: IX 1 *et passim*; XII 11
Tatars: I 29, 31, 32; III 263; IV 8 *et passim*; V 187 *et passim*; VI 549, 553; VIII 59; IX 4, 6, 8; X 117, 119; XI 479; XII 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9 ; XIII 108, 113, 119, 123; XIV 289 *et passim*; XV 182, 187, 188, 192, 195; XVI 269, 270; XVIII 223 *et passim*; XIX 732, 733, 737, 739, 740, 744, 745; XX 101 *et passim*
Tatars of Crimea, Crimean Khanate: I 32, 33; IV 33; V 187, 188, 189; VI 551, 561; VII 206; VIII 55; IX 1, 2, 6, 8; X 117, 121, 122; XI 482; XII 2, 4, 5, 9; XIII 109, 110, 111, 112, 118, 122; XIV 289 *et passim*; XV 181, 182, 184, 185, 194, 197; XVIII 213 *et passim*; XIX 730, 737, 741, 743; XXI 30
Tatars of Kazan, Kazan Khanate: I 32, 33; II 337; IV 11, 16, 22, 32 V 187, 191; VI 550, 551, 552, 561; VIII 52, 53, 55, 56; IX 2; X 121, 122; XI 483; XII 1, 2; XV 183, 185, 190, 191, 193, 195, 199; XX 101
Tatar Yoke (*tatarskoe igo*): XX 108; XXI 28, 29
Tat-qara: XVI 264
Taytaq: VI 558
Tefsīr: VIII 54
Teleut: XI 483

Temnikov: IV 8, 9, 10, 13, 34
Temür Qutluġ *see* Timur Qutluġ
Tenishev (family): XX 109, 111, 112
Terme, third son of Baba-Tükles: XIX 740, 743
Terterids: I 32
Tetjuši: IV 13, 19
Teviashevs: XX 107, 109
Theodóros Laskaris: III 267
Thessalia: III 265
Thessaloniké: III 265, 267
Thrace: III 264, 265, 267
Tibet: VI 558; XIII 106
Timur, Timurid, Timuriden: IV 31; VI 559; VII 206; X 116, 119, 122, 123,124; XII 4; XVII 233; XIX 741, 742
Timur Pulad: IX 1
Timur Qutluġ / Temür Qutluġ: VIII 55; X 115, 119, 121, 122, 126; XI 480, 485; XII 8; XV 195, 198
Tinbay murza, son of Ismail: VI 552
Tirnovo *see* Tărnovo
Tiumen': XX 106
Tjan'gaja: IV 21
Tobol: XV 199
Toġančuq: VI 558
Toġay: VI 557
Toḫtamïš, Toχtamïš, Toktamyš: IV 31; V 189; VIII 55, 58; IX 1; X 119; XII 1, 2, 8, 9; XV 184, 185, 188
Tokat: X 125
Tokšeikovs: IV 35
Töläk: VI 560
tolmachi: XXI 29
Tolstov: IV 38
Toqa-Temür: XII 5; XVII 250
Toq-temir: XVI 265, 267
torki: XXI 28
Tört-aba: VII 204
Torusa: IV 31
Trabzon, Trebizond: XIII 111, 112
Transoxania: VI 560, 561; VII 204
Transsylvania: II 342
Trojan: XX 104
Troki: VIII 51; IX 6
Tschagatai *see* Chagatay
Tudâ Mengü: XVII 243
Tuġlu-biy: XI 480
Tuġluq-Temür: VI 558
Tuguševs: IV 35
Tuḥfa / Tuḥfat: VI 551; IX 4
Tula: IV 27, 29
Tülek: V 189
tümen: V 189
Tungus languages: VI 555
Turco-Mongolian: XIX 741
Turkestan: VII 204; X 116; XIX 742
Turkey: XIV 297; XXI 30
Turki: VI 550, 553, 556
Turkic, Turks, Turkish, Türken, türkisch: I 27 *et passim*; II 340, 341, 342; IV 4, 15, 24, 34 V 190; VI 549 *et passim*; VII 202 *et passim*; VIII 53, 55, 57; IX 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11; X 118, 120, 122, 123, 125; XI 479, 481, 482, 484; XII 1, 6, 7, 8, 9; XIII 105 *et passim*; XIV 291, 296, 299, 300; XV *et passim*; XVIII 216, 223, 224, 236, 239, 241, 243, 244; XIX 742, 743
türkisch *see* Turkic
Türkmän: XVI 264, 265
Turkmen: VI 550, 556; XV 186, 194, 195
Tuvan: VI 550; VIII 52; XI 483
Tver': XX 108
Tzurulon: III 264, 266

Ufa: IV 14, 20, 22, 28, 36; XV 182
Ugric: IV 15, 25
Uigur, Uighur, Uyghur: VII 202; VIII 52, 58, 116, 118, 122, 124, 125; IX 4; XII 7, 8; XIII 105, 110, 116, 122, 123; XV 186, 188, 195; XVI 270; XVII 233
Ukraine: XVI 265
Ulagchi: XVII 232, 246
Uluġ Muḥammad: XI 480
'Umarî: XVII 236, 237, 239, 242
'Umdat at-tavârîkh: XVII 234
Ural, Yayik (river): XIII 109
Ural: IV 10; XIX 739, 742, 743
Uraz-Muḥammad: VI 553
Üren(g)-Temür: XII 5
Urgench, Ürgenç: XIII 112; XIX 743
Urus, Nogay prince, Ismail's son: XIX 732
Urusov family: XIX 732, 733, 735
Usein Saraev: V 190
Usein-chozja: V 190
Ušennaja: IV 21
Usman: IV 26, 28
Usmanov, M. A.: IX 2; XII 2; XIII 120; XIV 292; XV 183
Uspenskii, F.I.: II 340; III 268
Ustjug: IV 31
Uyghur *see* Uigur
Uzbek: VI 550, 551, 556, 560; IX 4; XV 186, 188, 195; XVII 233; XIX 740, 744
Uzs: XXI 28
Uzun Ḥasan: X 125

Vachidov, S.G.: XV 190, 191, 194, 198
Vad River: IV 21, 26, 34
Valwe *see* Cumans
Vámbéry, A.: X 124, 125
Vaqqās *see* Oqas
Varna: XII 5
Vasilii I: XX 108
Vasilij Dmitrievič: IV 31
Vasilij II (Vasil'evič): X 118; XX 109
Vaṣṣâf: XVII 232
Vel'iaminov, Vel'iaminov-Zernov (family): IV 38; XX 103, 105
Venetian, Venice: IX 7, 8; XI 482; XII 5, 11; XIII 110, 111, 112, 113, 121, 122, 124; XVI 263, 268
Venev: IV 27
Verderevskiis: XX 108
Vernadsky, G.: XX 102
Veselovskii, S.B.: XX 103, 105
Veselovskij, N.I.: X 117
Villani, Giovanni: III 268
Villehardouin: III 265
Viskovatyi, I.M.: XXI 30
Vitovt, Grand Prince of Lithuania: XX 111
Vize *see* Bizyé
Vjarveli: IV 35
Vjatiči: IV 24, 25, 29
Vjatka: IV 14, 29, 31
Vladimir: II 340; IV 14, 26, 27, 29, 34; XVI 266
Vlakho-Bulgarian Empire, Vlakho-Bulgarians: III 263, 268, 270
Vlakhs: I 31; II 335, 338, 340, 342, 343; III 264, 265, 266, 267
Voguls: IV 8
Volga (river, region): I 28, 29; IV 7, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 36, 38, 40; XII 5; XIII 108, 118; XVII 236; XVIII 215, 222, 223, 225, 233, 235, 236, 246; XIX 742, 743; XXI 31
Etilia: XVII 236
Volga Bulgars, Volga Bulgaria: I 29; II 337; IV 8, 11, 19, 29, 30
Volga Hungarians: IV 6, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23
Volokolamsk: IV 27
Vorona: IV 21
Voronež: IV 26
Votyak, Ari: IV 34
vyezd: XX 103, 104, 105
Vyša: IV 21

Walachen, Walachey, Wallachian State: I 32; XVIII 225, 226, 230
Warschau: XVIII 217, 218, 247
Western Europe: I 28; XIII 116
Western Hungary: IV 3
Wien: XVIII 220, 221

Xarteš *see* Cumans

Yadigar (Ediger) / Simeon Kasaevich: XX 110
Yagiełło: X 119; XII 1; XV 185
Yamġurčï: XVI 265, 266
Yanṣūfī *see* Jansufu
yarlïq: IV 9; XII 10
Yaroslavl': XX 106
yasak: IV 7; XV 196
Yasār-oġul: VI 557
Yayik (river) *see* Ural
Yazd: X 124
Yemen: XIII 109
Yüan-China: VII 202, 203, 205
yurt: XX 111
Yūsuf Ḥāṣṣ Ḥājîb Balasaġūnī: X 124
Yūsuf, Nogay prince: XIX 732, 733, 734, 739, 740, 744

Zagoskin, N.: XX 102, 107
Zagoskins: XX 109
Zagreb: XVIII 220
Zajączkowski, A.: VIII 51, 52, 53
Zakharii: XX 103
Zakirov, S.: XIII 120
Zborowski, Piotr: XVIII 218
Zenker, J.Th.: VIII 54
Zhdanov (family): XX 109
Zhidimir: XX 108
Zhitova, Mariia Zotikova: XX 109
Zikhoi *see* Cherkess
Zimin, A.A.: VII 201; XIX 732
Zlatarski, V.N.: II 339, 340
Zlatoust: IV 29